

THE MINORITY OF ONE

Independent Monthly Publication, Dedicated to the Elimination of All Thought Restrictions Except for the Truth

"There was truth and there was untruth, and if you clung to the truth even against the whole world, you were not mad."—GEORGE ORWELL

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Predetermined Course

The New Administration

Only a psychopath finds pleasure in a continuous search for faults. His fault finding depends less on the objective merits of the situation than on his inward preoccupations. This psychological circumstance is often responsible for people's reluctance to appear critical of their surroundings. They are apprehensive lest they be accused of creating imaginary faults to satisfy their own inner need. Those, however, who attempt to discourage meritorious public criticism by accusing the critics of destructive psychological tendencies are as wrong as the psychopath who manages to be unhappy in paradise itself.

Yet, who of us is mentally strong enough not to be eaten by self-doubt after many years of criticizing, disagreeing and dissenting? No matter how meritorious his criticism, no matter how directly inspired not by his subjective inclination but by the external reality, he is bound to question the integrity of his views. That's why being a critic is one of the most tiresome and lonely preoccupations. That's why the well intended critic always hopes for a situation that will no longer invite and merit his criticism. He has a hankering to say "yes" for a change: to agree, make himself a part of the prevailing forces and share their positive responsibility. The longer and more extreme his criticism, the greater his inner need to vindicate his mental soundness by proving that he was not predestined to be a dissenter, that he has an equal ability to share in the doing. The critic may grow so dependent on such a change of his social role that his transformation may take place completely irrelevant to the situation itself, inspired solely by his inward discomfort and new psychological need.

In the political domain, the process may be especially stimulated by a change in the roles of the political parties in their government versus opposition relationship. The new Administration in Washington provides a most opportune if false occasion for many social and political critics to jump on the bandwagon, thereby vindicating their own minds from the suspicion of destructive inclinations and negative tastes. Some liberal critics, tired of their lonely preoccupation and desperate to show their "positive" side, cling to the thin rationalization that the mere presence of several cosmopolitan individuals in the new Administration heralds a new, overall progressive era in Washington. A few of them are in for disappointment; others will, in the process of throwing in their lot with the new bureaucracy, become the victims of a newly acquired conservatism and, by the force of their engagement,

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Choosing the Weapon

That the repetitious Cuban warnings of an imminent invasion of the island have so far not been borne out literally is least of all a vindication of our Government's intentions vis-a-vis the Castro regime. Those intentions need not be guessed at; time and again they have been pronounced by the summit policy molders of the just retired and recently installed American Administrations. Too clearly, we are committed to the proposition of forcible overthrow of a regime that has protected, with amazing courage, fortitude and patriotism, the interests of its nation against unscrupulous foreign exploitation. That an actual invasion has not taken place as yet is least of all due to any non-interventionist principle, which our diplomats and press keep refuting to the bewilderment even of our closest foreign allies such as Great Britain; rather, it is due to considerations of timing and the effectiveness of the subversion. In spite of our campaign to woo and bribe Cuban refugees into returning their island to its former American exploiters, our State Department experts on Latin America display a healthy respect for the solid support the Cuban people as a whole are giving the Castro regime as well as for that regime's amazing achievements in military preparedness.

Yet, American aggression in Cuba is, unfortunately, more than sheer verbal pronouncements and half-way admitted intentions. It is being executed with each terror spreading American airplane flying over the island, with each act of sabotage paid for by our governmental agencies, with the attempts of a naval blockade and economic boycott, with each training and arming site for prospective insurgents and invaders we have been maintaining in Latin American countries as well as in the U.S.A. itself. Against this background Cuban tolerance of a greatly overstaffed American embassy in Havana would have amounted to the legalization of a spy and sabotage center. That the Eisenhower Administration took it upon itself to break off diplomatic relations with Cuba in its closing days was more than a climax to its own hostile campaign. It is virtually unthinkable that such a step was undertaken without advanced consultations with the incoming Administration. It may, therefore, serve as an indicator of things to come, or rather to continue: uninterrupted acts to subvert a Cuban regime that refuses to betray the legitimate interests of its people.

Our government has not been

involved in a search for a policy vis-a-vis Cuba. That policy has been clearly determined and its objective is the overthrow of an uncompliant foreign government. The only search the American Administration has been conducting is for an effective way to achieve that immoral objective. The hesitations it is displaying do not stem from any readiness to consider a change of policy; rather they reflect the frustrations caused by the political genius of Dr. Castro who, in spite of all obstacles, is managing to command the loyalty of the Cuban people and, simultaneously, to gain international support that is piercing the colonialist curtain of the Monroe Doctrine.

The failure of that policy would not only save Cuba's freedom, but also the American nation from marring its own conscience.

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To Set The Record Straight

By Ernest B. Zeisler

At the night session of the UN Security Council on December 9, our chief delegate, James J. Wadsworth, said: "There is no question as to the right of the Congolese authorities to place Mr. Lumumba under arrest." This is correct: there is no question that they had no right to do it. Mr. Wadsworth continued: "We accept fully the position of President Kasavubu that Mr. Lumumba was legally removed from his former office." Mr. Wadsworth and our State Department may accept it, but the Congolese Parliament denied it explicitly. It is quite clear that our State Department and Mr. Wadsworth think that whatever they wish is right, regardless of what the Congo Parliament declares. Mr. Wadsworth went on: "The Soviet Union's anger in calling this meeting is explainable only because this plan, which they supported, did not succeed. . . . under a mask of humanitarian concern" for Lumumba's safety, Russia sought to "destroy the UN action through assaulting the secretary general or the UN command or to seek to erode the strength of the command itself. On the basis, presumably, that the best defense is to attack, Mr. Zorin has cried 'plot.' He claims that the United States is skillfully manipulating events in some vast plot in the Congo." Mr. Wadsworth is engaging entirely in what psychologists call "projection," in which one imputes to another all his own behavior and motives, for we are doing exactly what Mr. Wadsworth is accusing Mr. Zorin and the Russians of doing. We are playing a losing game: the people of the United States are being deceived by our hypocrisy, but the people of Africa and Asia are not, and we will lose much more than what little plunder we (a few of us) will gain even if we succeed in helping the Belgians steal Katanga and its riches.

The House of Delegates of the American Medical Association agreed with a report of the Board of Trustees strongly recommending the "widest possible use of the Salk vaccine for the prevention of poliomyelitis. The Salk vaccine has been proved to be effective and since there are still many segments of the population not immunized against poliomyelitis every effort should be made to encourage the general public to take advantage of the Salk vaccine without delay." The Board of Trustees may not know better, but they ought to, for the proof that what they are saying is false is readily available to them. The AMA is also waging a losing battle, for the result of their dishonesty will be to facilitate "socialized medicine."

There is much talk about the U.S. adverse balance of payments and the gold loss. Twenty percent of our adverse balance of payments is accounted for by our troops overseas, according to the West Germans. We have bases and troops in many foreign lands, and are actively engaged in several minor wars at present. The waste and theft by and through the Pentagon are several times our entire adverse balance. So long as this continues and the American worker wishes to draw high wages for loafing, things will merely get worse.

For the past few decades numerous newspapers and writers have told us that Fascism and Communism are really the same thing, and then have consistently condoned and played ball with fascist regimes, while consistently opposing communist regimes. In fact the two are not at all the same. It would be an over-simplification to say that in the communist (or socialist) regime, the government owns business, whereas in the fascist regime, business owns the government. Fascism and Communism have indeed one thing in common, namely oligarchic totalitarianism and dictatorship, both implacably inimical to individualism and libertarianism. All that is worthwhile in this world has been brought about by and through the exceptional individuals, and such individuals have always been opposed to regimentation, dictatorship, totalitarianism, thought control, the goals and hallmarks of successful fascist and communist regimes, and of every strong government. Such people always wish a government to have the minimum power absolutely necessary.

Laos: A Challenge to an Image

The Laotian state of affairs was allowed to deteriorate as a calculated risk on the part of the American Government.

The background against which we have encouraged and financed the usurpation of power by a minority in Laos could hardly be more unmistakable. Here is a classic instance of a flagrant violation of an international agreement, not by our antagonists, but by forces acting upon our advice, our encouragement and sponsorship. Only American backing allowed the Government at Vientiane to tear to shreds each provision of the Convention of Geneva signed in 1954. Not only was the Laotian army illegally armed and augmented but the Pathet Lao movement which had gained official recognition in that Convention was treated as an illegal insurrection. So flagrant have the violations of the Geneva Convention been that no manipulative interpretation of its provisions could provide a camouflage; instead the Convention itself was repudiated and the International Supervisory Commission defied, sabotaged and forced out of action. All this amounted to preparatory steps for turning Laos, in flagrant violation of the letter and spirit of the Geneva Convention, into a SEATO protectorate.

The Pathet Lao movement has been depicted by our State Department as a foreign communist force in obvious contradiction to the truth; all other-than-American observers have perceived it to be a genuine, popular movement of the local population. While with respect to foreign policy the Pathet Lao never demanded anything but the neutrality of Laos, a policy also backed by the Geneva Convention, our State Department was overtly laboring to include the country in SEATO's belt and calling any opposition an attempt to deliver Laos to the communist block.

When finally the reins of government were taken over by Prince Souvanna Phouma in 1960, the hope of pacifying the country became real. Souvanna Phouma held out the promise of Laos returning to the provisions of the Convention of Geneva and ending the domestic hostilities. His attempts to broaden the political base of his government seemed destined for success; through the inclusion of the Pathet Lao as well as rightist elements a balance would be gained against Laos aligning itself with either of the two hostile blocks of nations. A neutralist Laos provided the only solution compatible with the Convention of Geneva and expressive of popular local sentiment. So compelling were these reasons that both France and Great Britain supported Souvanna Phouma unequivocally. Even our State Department did not quickly come up with an opposition to the planned coalition government. Then, however, our policy makers experienced an obvious change of heart.

Suddenly, they decided that here was an opportunity to find out how much illegality

and aggressiveness American policy could get away with. They started financing, supporting and encouraging a group of militaristic adventurers without popular roots in an all out bid to control the country against its own population, against international legal instruments and against the judgment of America's allies. While our diplomats have been sounding warnings that the Soviet Union and its allies might try to take advantage of the inertia of the presidential interregnum in Washington, they themselves attempted to capitalize on that interregnum. The calculated risk was based on the theory that the Soviet Government, eager to prepare the grounds for negotiations with the Kennedy administration, would refrain from reacting lest it prejudice such negotiations. This was, as seen from Washington, a "safe" bet in any case. If the assessment of the Soviet mood should prove correct, the State Department would succeed in collecting Laos into the Western "defense" pocket. If, however, the assessment of the Soviet mood should prove erroneous and a determined Soviet reaction should follow, then the ensuing repetition of Korean type events would provide a similar and badly needed stimulant for the American economy.

The Soviet Union and its allies may indeed be dissuaded from accepting the challenge by a fear that their response would prejudice their peace overtures to the Kennedy Administration. This is the more plausible because the American-caused military victory of Gen. Phoumi Nosovan is anything but the final chapter in the Laotian tragedy. The new regime is so out of step with the Laotian people, amounting to an artificial import "made in U.S.A." that the Soviets may quite unconcernedly watch it rule the country for as long as this may seem prudent; any time they or their friends feel like challenging the artificial regime, the popular elements of revolt will be present. What we may consider a victory of our arrogance may indeed be our adversaries' patient tolerance due to a well justified confidence in our eventual defeat in the Laotian situation.

In the meantime, the Asian and African nations are not going to judge us by the hypocritical euphemisms of our propagandistic spokesmen but by our imperial behavior in Laos and elsewhere. Laos is an especially sobering experience for two reasons: first, because there we and the forces we have been backing found themselves in the position of being the only assailants of international legal instruments; secondly, because at no time were our compelling interests at stake but only our insistence on Lao's unequivocally aligning itself with us against its own sentiments and commitments.

They will also judge us, and correctly so, by such manifestations of our official political character as our recent abstention

from voting on the anti-colonialism resolution in the United Nations. Coming as that resolution did as a substitute for the Soviet draft, wholly deprived of the latter's teeth and time limitations and turned into no more than an abstract, unenforceable declaration of conscience, the vote on it provided a demarcation line between the forces that stubbornly cling to history's passing nightmare and those varied and diversified forces that have tied their success to the dawning light of the future. Our abstention from that vote provided an implicit commentary on many of our policies. It displayed a psychological consistency that sheds light on why we find ourselves inadvertently supporting latifundists in Latin America, militarists in Germany and Japan, Fascists in Spain and corrupt agents in Laos.

Considering the psychological preconditioning of our American diplomats, they are charged with an impossible task: impressed as they are by the popular "science" of image creating, they fail to realize that the public image of a political situation depends directly on that situation. To them image and truth are independent of each other, and each time they are faced with a situation of having the false image dispelled by the naked truth they are at a loss to appreciate the limitations of their art.

What is "wrong" with the peoples of Asia and Africa is that they have not been brought up by Madison Avenue. It is this "backwardness" that prevents them from accepting us as world benefactors and instead "misleads" them into judging us by such "irrelevant" standards as our actual role in Laos, Cuba, the Congo or in the U.N. vote on colonialism. They are "naive" and "unsophisticated" people who insist that a bayonet is a bayonet instead of accepting our superior teaching that only a Russian bayonet is a bayonet while an American bayonet is a magic container of divine blessings.

There is at least one slightly consoling aspect in the consistency we have been displaying in Cuba, the Congo, Laos and the United Nations. The less legitimate our illegitimate policies are made to look, the smaller the margin of error that will feed well intentioned people's gullibility. In Laos and elsewhere we keep shedding ideological and legal rationalizations ever more openly and cynically, and soon enough our diplomats will play their power politics in blunt nakedness, openly declaring that whatever is expedient for one American business lobby or another is right and just. This will be no more than a repetitious application of the position we took when the U-2 was shot down over the Soviet Union. It will be an international adaptation of Charles Wilson's immortal words: "What is good for General Motors is good for America."

Interview with Machiavelli

By W. H. Ferry

The author is a vice-president of the Fund for the Republic and a staff member of the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions in Santa Barbara, California. His views are in no way related to those positions.

We believe that America's willingness to disarm is the missing link in multilateral disarmament. Mr. Ferry's advocacy and arguments, however, introduce a needed constructive antidote to our official conception of international relations.

Mr. Ferry's "case" will be continued in the March 1961 issue of TMO.

—Ed.

Let us imagine that Mr. Khrushchev has recalled Machiavelli and asked his advice on how to achieve his main aims.* And let us assume that chief among these aims is eventual domination of the globe. I think that Machiavelli might say something like this:

"Prince, it is obvious that your weapons cannot assist you in achieving a single important aim. If you use them, whatever the situation or pretext, three things will follow. First, you will render some of the choicest industrial and building sites on earth useless and uninhabited. Second, you will be fearfully bombed yourself, which cannot be expected to endear you to your subjects. Third, those people now labeled neutral and uncommitted will never trust or follow your lead. But I need not speak further on this line; I am sure we agree that your stockpiles of great bombs and missiles are good only for national vanity, perhaps to balance the arms of your adversaries, but otherwise far more trouble than they are worth."

Machiavelli continues: "You have provided simple Communist answers to immense problems of social organization for people to want to share in the plenty of industrial society. Your diplomacy has been wily and far-sighted. Your encouragement of scientific development has won you respect, if not friendship, in many parts of the world. You have a considerable accomplishment in the field of peaceful economic competition. And despite heavy arms burdens you have so far managed to keep your own subjects relatively happy; though I must confess that they appear to be far easier to satisfy than I would be."

"What I wish to propose, Prince, is that you lay down your arms. Not today or tomorrow, but after preparation of the kind I shall now outline. First and most difficult you must bring China into your plan. Second, you must make more menacing noises at the West, more menacing even than you made at Paris and in New York. The object here is to get the West to commit itself even more expensively to arms build-ups, and to enter into more and more "defense" pacts and economic aid agreements with other countries. Next, your various negotiators in Geneva and elsewhere

*I am indebted to a colleague, Hallock Hoffman, for many of the ideas in the following reincarnation.

will denounce their opposite numbers from the West as intractable and thirsting only to go to war. Fourth, you will prepare your nation for peacetime production and life. You will make plans for shifting missile and arms factories into civilian goods. You will figure out how the officers and men of the Russian army can be converted into schoolteachers, mechanics, technical assistance teams for overseas assignments, farmers, civil servants, white collar workers, colonizers. This will all take time but should not be a difficult problem since yours is a systematic economy whose ends and means are directed from the top. These arrangements can, moreover, be made publicly, for the West can be trusted not to believe its eyes. In fact, these days it is a curious penchant of both East and West to call things by their opposites. A writer named Orwell called this language of opposites Newspeak; I wish I had said that. So evidence of peace preparations on your part, it may be confidently predicted, will be regarded in Washington as preparation for war."

Machiavelli smiles out of the window of the Kremlin and continues: "Before I come to the final points I wish to say that I realize that the steps I have been describing are not simple to take. You will have domestic tribulations, especially with your older and more warlike and less imaginative colleagues. But in such bureaucratic infighting you have no peer between Tashkent and Leningrad. My advice here would therefore be supererogation."

"We come now to the sixth step. You will call a special meeting of the United Nations, and give your call so portentous a sound that the heads of state of the entire world will come to New York. You will announce that as of the date of your address, Russia is disarming down to the arms needed for domestic police. The army is being disbanded. Military detachments are being recalled and demobilized. The assent of China, and its cooperation in this action, has been obtained. The borders of the USSR will henceforth be open to all. Anyone who cares to do so may inspect any part of Russia without let or hindrance."

"Russia is taking this unprecedented action because it is genuinely a peace-loving power. Russians see that the arms race can have no end except war of an immensity that will leave the world bloody and im-

poverished for generations. Against its wishes the Soviet was forced into the arms race by the West. Now, at the height of its power, demonstrably able to excel in this frightful competition, Russia chooses to act for humanity. For it is now clear that to continue to prepare for war is sooner or later to bring war on. There can be no winners, only losers, in modern war. The Soviet is moreover confident that in a world at peace its aims will be achieved because of the superiority of its doctrines."

"The atomic materials of the Soviet will be delivered to the United Nations, except for those amounts needed for peaceful atomic power plants in Russia and other countries. Russia offers to take a leading part in the formation by the UN of a multinational Peace Force. Interplanetary rocket research by the USSR and the other scientific developments of the utmost significance to mankind will likewise be denationalized and turned over to the United Nations."

Machiavelli pauses for a long moment and resumes: "And then, Prince, you say what you intend to do with the capital set free by unilateral disarmament. You are, I believe, spending something around 30 billion dollars a year for war? This, the UN learns, will be committed in the future as follows: 15 billions to the upbuilding of the Soviet economy, and that of its neighbors and old friends. The next 10 billion is to be spent, beginning at once, to meet the needs of the so-called neutral and underdeveloped countries. Some of this amount will be channeled through the United Nations, to the extent that the organization can handle such tasks and to the degree that other UN members are willing—and able—to share in the effort. The Soviet offers to underwrite, out of its savings on arms, the cost of administering this vastly expanded UN machine. The last 5 billion is to be set aside—and, Prince, if I do say so myself, I think this is rather a pretty suggestion—this final 5 billion will be set aside for the use of the United States and its allies—to be thought of as a Reverse Marshall Plan. This is not only a poetic but a necessary provision, since the West clearly has no plans whatever for coping with peace."

Machiavelli stands and looks down at Khrushchev. "Prince, you end this most memorable of speeches with a statement of

THE BRIGHTER SIDE

Three Cheers

your expectations. You expect that some of the satellites—Poland, Hungary, Rumania, others—will pull away—but you expect also that they will return before long. Where, after all, will they have to go?

"You expect that the neutral and ambitious new nations will turn to the Soviet in gratitude.

"You do not expect that the United States or other Western nations will bomb Russia—what good would it do? You do not expect that the West will attempt to take Russia and China over. You expect that the force of world opinion will stifle such suggestions before they are even made. The West will, in any case, be facing the prodigious task of keeping its own economics afloat.

"Alas, because of the suspicions which have been converted into the way of life called the Cold War, the West cannot be expected soon to follow your lead. No, the West must be expected to disbelieve you indefinitely, and thereafter to spend years inspecting and probing into every cave in the Urals, every snowbank in Siberia.

"Most of all you expect that the West will be thrown into the utmost confusion. Think of its international arrangements—pacts, economic aid, CIA adventurers, military bases, and exports of troops—billions in bases, submarines, warning systems and the like! Think of all of this as the response to a single image of Russia, the image of a bloodthirsty and crafty beast, all claws and fangs, waiting to pounce. I need not elaborate this figure of speech, for it is the picture you have sought to give your own subjects of the West. But think what happens when, in a twinkling, this beast is transformed into a harmless dove!

"Confusion is doubtless too mild a way of describing what would ensue in the West. The domestic economy, especially of the United States, would be thrown into great disarray—how great may be surmised by the total unwillingness of its leaders to make the slightest preparation for peace. Should they keep on making Polaris submarines, a full line of missiles, warplanes, and so on? Why? What for? Hard questions for the West to answer. But the true chaos would be psychological. Someone would have to be blamed for the debacle. Scapegoats are needed when anything goes wrong, and the search for them would be frantic. Remember Pearl Harbor?

"But what you finally expect is that your step will lead to peace. Peace, peace, there's the idea. You may expect your good offices to be used in many places besides UN, for you will now be known as the nation that broke the most vicious circle man has ever known, the circle of lethal logic. But now I am getting into details, and I shall desist. As you see, my advice is simply conceived: it merely reverses the present attitude. In a word, disarm to parley—and win. Think it over, Prince."

And Machiavelli returned to the 16th Century.

I favor unilateral disarmament by the United States. In advocating it, I do not wish to be associated with Machiavelli. Peace is the purpose I have in mind, not domination.

► FOR SUPREME COURT JUSTICE WILLIAM O. DOUGLAS for advocating the admission of China to the United Nation.

► FOR MRS. ZELMA WATSON GEORGE, member of the U. S. delegation to the U.N. for applauding the United Nations resolution against colonialism in spite of her delegation's abstention upon order from President Eisenhower.

► FOR THE U. S. SUPREME COURT for:—brushing aside Louisiana's "interposition" argument as a pretext for frustrating court orders for school desegregation;—invalidating an Arkansas statute compelling every teacher to file an annual affidavit listing every organization he has belonged or contributed to within the preceding five year period.

► FOR SENATORS FRANK CHURCH, GALE MCGEE and FRANK E. MOSS for urging the U. S. Government to embrace a pro-Africa policy backing the independence of Algeria.

► FOR MISS ELLEN STEINBERG of St. Louis, Mo. and EUGENE SANDS of White Plains, N. Y., for offering \$500,000 and \$5,000 respectively to the New Orleans School Board for teachers' salaries blocked by the State's authorities in an anti-desegregation move.

► FOR THE U. S. COURT OF APPEALS, Sixth Circuit in Cincinnati, for granting a Justice Department plea for an injunction against 37 Haywood County, Tenn. landowners who fired their Negro sharecroppers in a reprisal for their exercise of voting rights.

► FOR GORDON M. TIFFANY, former staff director of the Federal Civil Rights Commission, for urging that states denying voting rights to Negroes be given reduced representation in the U. S. Congress.

► FOR SENATOR ESTES KEFAUVER, Chairman of the Senate Anti-Trust and Monopoly Subcommittee, for urging legislative curbs on drug manufacturers' mislabeling practices and obliging them to show that a new medicine is worthwhile rather than, as they are presently obliged, merely to show that a new medicine is not poisonous.

► FOR THE EIGHT HOLLYWOOD WRITERS AND FOUR ACTORS for filing a damage suit against the major Hollywood studios for blacklisting them on political grounds, thereby preventing them from getting work.

► FOR FORMER PRESIDENT EISENHOWER for his words of sympathy and encouragement to Mr. and Mrs. James Gabrielle, who courageously attempted to break a white boycott of a desegregated school in New Orleans.

The Unholy Trinity

The scandalous case of the leading electrical manufacturers, who entered pleas of guilty and *nolo contendere* (no defense) to criminal anti-trust charges, would have in most civilized countries shaken the foundations of the incumbent political machinery. Since it happened in the United States, however, it has received the most peculiar treatment. Not only has the Government's compliance with the pleas spared the guilty industrial tycoons much adverse publicity that would have attended their trials, but also cushioned them against civil suits for damages. That this unholy trinity, involving economic frauds of truly astronomic dimensions, political influence peddling and panderism as a promotional business device, received the scantiest possible coverage in the American press demonstrates that half a continent has been turned into the largest multi-company town in the world.

The pleas of guilty pose more questions than they solve. Among such questions are:

1. Under what pressures, other than the quite absent moral integrity, did the Justice Department decide to prosecute a crime-

infested industry that has traditionally been a prosecution-immune lobby? (Did the rivalry among the chief suppliers of the Army, Navy and Air Force play any part in moving the Department to action?)

2. What pressures have been responsible for the Government's compliance in saving the companies from most embarrassing trials?

3. What accounts for the scant mention the case received in our sensation-hungry press?

4. Did the case inspire the Department of Justice to undertake similar investigations of other industries?

5. What legislation will be forthcoming to prevent the malpractices disclosed in the case, or is there no intention of preventing their repetition?

6. What, if any, are the legal and social repercussions to the guilty individuals involved? (Which country clubs declared them unwelcome criminals? Will they continue to be presidential golf and bridge companions?)

To be sure, our national leaders would dismiss all such highly relevant questions as "utterly" irrelevant.

Wilhelm Reich and the Book Burners

By Robert Anton Wilson

On August 23, 1956, at 7:30 in the morning the Orgone Institute Press turned all of its books over to the Food and Drug Administration of the U. S. Government. The books were then taken in a large truck to the Gansevoort Incinerator at Gansevoort and Hudson Streets in New York City, where they were dumped into the fire and burned.

Several of these books had previously been burned in Nazi Germany and in Soviet Russia.¹

Wilhelm Reich: Selected Writings. Farrar, Strauss and Cudahy, 1960. 556 pp., \$7.50

These books included: *The Function of the Orgasm; The Cancer Biopathy; The Sexual Revolution; Ether, God and Devil; Cosmic Superimposition; Listen, Little Man; The Mass Psychology of Fascism; Character Analysis; The Murder of Christ; People in Trouble*—all by Wilhelm Reich, M.D.

Since the Orgone Institute Press was the only publisher of Reich in the United States, all of these books rapidly became unavailable.

In a short while, people who had become interested in Reich because of the burning (the present writer was one of them) found it all but impossible to find out what Reich had actually written.

Now, at last, after four long years, some of Reich's thought is again available to a large audience through the publication by Farrar Strauss and Cudahy of *Wilhelm Reich: Selected Writings*. It is an ample book, 556 pages long, and has been extremely well edited. It is no substitute for having all of Reich's books available again, but it does, in my opinion, contain the most important sections of his most important works.

But before we look into this anthology further, it is well to clear off a few of the misconceptions with which Wilhelm Reich is usually viewed.

To begin with, what exactly is Dr. Reich's standing as a psychotherapist and psychological theorist? Is it true that his work in these areas has been universally condemned by the "experts" (whoever they are)? Well, the reader can draw his own conclusion from the following:

(1) Dr. Mason Rose, a psychoanalyst who describes his own method as eclectic, writes as follows of Dr. Reich: "*Let's all admit that Reich had a complex character structure highly tainted with paranoia. But let's also realize that his contributions*

to psychoanalysis, character analysis and bio-therapy elevate him to the status of Freud." Dr. Rose continues: "*With few exceptions, contemporary analysts use Reichian 'character analysis' in lieu of Freudian 'symptomanalysis.'*"

(2) An editorialist in the *Psychiatric Quarterly*: "*One suspects that anger at Reich's real or supposed political and social views has also colored much of the reaction toward his scientific work, which many appear inclined to reject without accord a hearing.*"

(3) In spite of an unprecedented campaign of lies, rumors and slander against him, in spite of the prejudice mentioned by the *Psychiatric Quarterly* editorialist, Reich is still quoted as an authority in many psychological, psychiatric and sexological works by people who are definitely not among his "loyal disciples." Just one recent example is *Pornography and the Law* by Drs. Eberhard and Phyllis Kronhausen. (Ballentine Books, 1959.)

But even the reader who grants that Dr. Reich's purely psychiatric work possesses some merit is quite convinced that the later "orgone" theories are completely beneath contempt and that the "Orgone Box" has been completely refuted.

Well, to begin with, even the term "Orgone Box" is misleading, because it was coined by Reich's critics, in order to make the device sound unimpressive. Reich's name for it was "Orgone Energy Accumulator."

The Orgone Accumulator is supposed to "trap" the basic energy of life, which Reich calls Orgone Energy, and concentrate it so that a patient inside the Accumulator is charged with this energy, which is supposed to be helpful against several diseases. The case for the Accumulator consists of 101 case histories of patients treated with it by Reich and his co-workers—Walter Hoppe, M.D., N. Wevrick, M.D., A. Allan Cott, M.D., Michael Silvert, M.D., Kenneth M. Bremner, M.D., and Victor M. Sobey, M.D. All of this evidence was published in the *Orgone Energy Bulletin*, and copies of the Bulletin are as hard to find as Reich's complete books. The evidence against the Accumulator is a statement by FDA Commissioner Charles W. Crawford: "*Repeated challenges were issued in literature, widely circulated by the Wilhelm Reich Foundation, daring medical researchers and physicists to test accumulators adequately. FDA accepted the challenge and has concluded that there is no such energy as orgone and that Orgone Energy Accumulator devices are worthless in the treatment of any disease or disease condition of man.*" FDA has not, however, published the experimental evidence of the research it did in coming to that conclusion. The reader will have to choose between two bodies of evidence, both of which are unavailable to him.

But, the purpose of this article is not to

debate the useful or useless nature of the Orgone Accumulator, which would be a rather fruitless task in the still almost total absence of evidence.

The entire Orgone theory—which has implications for astronomy, astrophysics, weather control and nucleonics, as well as psychiatry and medicine—will have to be faced by scientists, and either confirmed or refuted, some time in the near future. It is not "beneath contempt" or "obviously absurd," except to those who are dogmatically committed to other theories of the universe—theories which every true scientist knows are more in the nature of "intellectual tools" or even "methods of investigation" than they are "Revealed Laws from on High." I am not so ignorant as the cocksure anti-Reichian technician who reads this with a sneer will think I am; and I state emphatically that—right or wrong (which is to say, useful or not-useful)—the Orgone theory repeats and modernizes a trend of thought which has many times appeared in the history of science: the Organismic or synergetic approach that was accepted by such diverse thinkers as Pythagoras, Kepler, Newton, Whitehead, Korzybski, Agassiz and many others.

Actually, Reich's basic axioms—the "prejudices," so to speak, which set him thinking and experimenting in an Orgonomic direction—seem much less extraordinary in 1960 than they did when he first enunciated them back in 1930 or so. As given on page 218 of the *Selected Writings*, these assumptions are:

"1. Every living organism is a functional unit; it is not merely a mechanical sum total of organs. The basic biological function governs every individual organ as it governs the total organism.

"2. Every living organism is a part of surrounding nature and functionally identical with it.

"3. Every perception is based on the consonance of a function within the organism with a function of the outer world; that is, is based on vegetative harmony.

"4. Every form of self-perception is the immediate expression of objective processes in the organism (psychophysical identity.)"

The first of these assumptions has become less and less controversial with the passing years. Under the names of "holism," "organicism," "non-elementalism," "gestalt," "synergy," etc., you will find it all through modern science. The second and third assumptions are, it seems to me, inescapable corollaries of the first and are becoming so recognized by ever-growing numbers of working scientists. The fourth assumption cannot be denied—although few are aware of this—without plunging one into some form of mysticism or super-naturalism.

Whether or not scientists eventually recognize the need of positing a specific "orgone energy" with the specific prop-

¹The *Jailing of a Great Scientist in the U.S.A.*, 1956, by Lois Wyvell and Raymond R. Rees. Second Printing, September 1956. From: Lois Wyvell, 180 Main Street, Southampton, Long Island, New York.

²"A Statement of Concurring Opinion," by Dr. Mason Rose, *The Realist*, July-August, 1960.

³Editorial, *Psychiatric Quarterly*, April, 1949.

⁴Press Release, US Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Friday, March 19, 1954.

⁵*The Problem Family*, by A. S. Neill. Hermitage Press, New York, 1949.

erties suggested by Reich's thoughts and experiments, these four assumptions are going to force them, eventually, into some bridging formulation uniting human psycho-biological functioning with the larger processes of the galaxies. When they do so, it will probably appear that Reich's Orgone experiments were not "delusions" at all but pioneering investigations of an unknown phenomenon not perfectly understood by its discoverer.

Even if one rejects the entire edifice of Orgone theory, there remains a long list of important ideas in the *Selected Writings*—ideas which stand up pretty well on biological and psychological evidence accumulated by Reich from sources "uncontaminated" by Orgone. Among these ideas are:

—Dr. Reich's "character armor" theory, which defines neuroses in terms of armor against spontaneous feeling, armor the patient built up as a child because of irrational treatment by his parents, particularly in the sexual area;

—Dr. Reich's "muscular armour" theory, which indicates specifically where in the body lie the blocks which shut off spontaneous feeling and keep the patient "tense" and "anxious." This theory has influenced countless psychiatrists and therapists outside orthodox Reichian circles, and is largely confirmed by such independent research as Grantly Dick-Read's *Childbirth Without Fear* and Jacobson's *Progressive Relaxation*;

—Dr. Reich's analysis of the armoring underlying the fascist personality, and his clear warning of the increase of this personality type throughout the modern world;

—Dr. Reich's convincing argument that all revolutions will be betrayed and turn into fascist blood-baths as long as the present sexual taboos continue to force children into "armoring" their personalities. Other psychiatrists have pointed out the harm done to the young mind by our sexual repressions, but only Reich shows—with abundant evidence—the harm done to the body and ethical character of the child, the way in which tension, rigidity, anxiety, fear and hate as *chronic body attitudes* are conditioned into the young in our society.

—Dr. Reich's theory of "Work Democracy" as the type of society we may someday have, if we can ever have a social revolution that is not led by fascists, communists or other armored personalities.

—Dr. Reich's demonstration that sexual suppression in childhood and adolescence creates "authoritarian submissiveness" and perpetuates irrational social practices and institutions.

Dr. Reich was an embittered man by the time his troubles with the FDA began. He had been driven out of Germany, by the Nazis. In Denmark, he was subjected to a campaign of lies by known pro-fascists collaborating with sexual reactionaries. On his arrival in the United States in 1939, some sick-minded individual reported him to the FBI as a communist spy and he was temporarily placed under arrest as an

enemy alien. In 1932, he had separated from both orthodox Freudianism and communism.

Dr. Reich's true character is well summed up in the motto he used on all of his books: "*Love, work and knowledge are the wellsprings of life. They should also govern it.*"

Something of Reich's character appears, also, in this anecdote by A. S. Neil: "*The child who lives in fear has a life of catching its breath . . . and holding it, and the sign of a well-reared child is his free breathing. I saw Reich one day with a little girl who was not breathing freely, and was looking downcast and unhappy. Reich said: 'Come on, let's play doggies,' and he began to pant like a dog that had been running. The little girl, shy at first, joined in and panted as he did. It was wonderful to see how her face cleared and how she began to laugh.*" (The reader will understand the technical aspect of this anecdote if he will hold himself tensely for a minute, as if he were going in to be interviewed for a job that he needed desperately, and then make himself pant like a dog. Many of the "muscular armors" Reich discovered can only be seen by a trained anatomist, but the "stiff stomach" he mentions can be noticed by anybody. Look around on the bus tomorrow and notice how many people are holding their bellies in and stifling their breathing. They are doing it today, at the age of 30 or 40 or

50, because they were beaten so often in childhood!)

Reich was persecuted for decades by fascists, authoritarians, communists and sexual puritans. When the FDA began investigating him, he became increasingly paranoid and refused to cooperate in any way. He was finally sent to jail for contempt of court, and he died there. This article does not endorse the Orgone theory, and it doesn't pretend that Dr. Reich's behavior was highly rational at the end of his life. But it does say emphatically:

Reich's psychology and psychotherapy explain the *social insanity and violence* all around us better than any other body of theory available, and show a great deal of the way toward a cure; and the Orgone theory grows out of this psychology and psychotherapy so logically, and explains the chaotic state of modern physics so well, while at the same time following the basic trend of what seems the most likely direction in 20th Century science (the Organismic direction), that only blind dogmatism will prevent us from at least giving Orgone a less prejudiced consideration than it has previously received. If Reich was a genius in his early work and paranoid in his last days, the Orgone investigations, coming between these periods, probably contain both genius and madness. Let us try to rescue the genius from the paranoia, for in these crucial days we need every bit of insight into our problems that can be found anywhere.

An Editor's Confession, Question and . . . Waste Basket

From many quarters I keep getting editorial advice. Much of it pertains to the degree of anti-Communism that should be reflected in the columns of THE MINORITY OF ONE. Symptomatically, those who most urgently prompt me to strengthen the anti-communist emphasis are not rightist conservatives but so called leftist liberals of all shades. Some of them are political chemists and synthetizers; they know precisely the correct editorial formula and demand a definite balance between the amount of domestic and anti-Soviet criticism this publication should provide. As one of them puts it: "A plague on both houses would be the correct measure."

Usually such advice is accompanied by considerations of reader appeal. I am told that unless the recommended formula is used, TMO will not appeal to many of its potential supporters.

I have dealt with what I consider merited and unmerited criticism of Communism on several occasions; it is not the intention of this piece to add to my arguments on that subject. But the integrity of the synthetic would-be-editors deserves a line or two.

First, I wish to appeal to all such critics of TMO to stop trying to bribe me with "support". Were THE MINORITY OF ONE written or edited in order to obtain support, such advisors would be the last people whose tastes it would attempt to cater to. If already to cater, why not cater to more numerous, influential and financially affluent circles? Why not follow in the footsteps of the thousands of prosperous American newspapers and magazines whose catering efficiency has successfully attracted millions? —We will stick to our determination not to

turn this publication into a pushcart, not even a liberal or dissentionist pushcart.

Of course, those who demand such overdoses of anti-Communism believe they would constitute a vindication against the damaging accusations of the ever present witch hunters—a kind of intellectual sacrificial offering. But in the field of intellect and analysis of public issues we have no sacrificial offerings to surrender.

These intellectual pill peddlers all too often contribute to the witch hunts. First, they create a public atmosphere in which a Communist would have to be a hero ready to be burned on the stake to admit being a Communist. Then, knowing the effectiveness of their ostracism and stigmatization, they start looking for the Communists they forced into hiding. The consequence is a society in which everybody is suspicious of everybody.

The political chemists would do well to ask themselves a very pertinent question before submitting their formulae to us: If I was a Communist—and I do not infer that you are or are not—would I have the integrity, courage and civil responsibility to admit it, to stand up for my views, to advertise and defend them, come what may? This writer has asked himself this question many times and is completely satisfied that he can answer it with an unqualified yes. Unless you too can answer thus, we cannot, with your indulgence, trust your words of advice. It is even conceivable that you ARE a Communist while urging us to embrace one overdose of anti-Communism or another. And so, again with your indulgence, your letter winds up in the waste basket . . .

Even a chaste man is a bigamist: he is married both to his wife and his work. In his pursuit of self-fulfillment both play equally decisive roles: either can make him happy, either miserable. That work is a means of sustaining oneself is only a partial truth. Even if man could sustain himself without earning a living, his mental and physical health would depend on work so greatly that he would even pay for the privilege of working. Work is not man's bondage but his freedom and reward. Only work provides a social justification for his being, establishing society's need for him. In a final sense, the only thing that differentiates the living from the dead is work and not only because the latter have no needs to be labored for, but because the thrill of achievement cannot permeate them.

AN ODE TO WORK

This is not empty sentimentalism but a literal truism that is basic to society as well as to the individual's psyche. In the Bible there is nothing more depressing, dehumanizing and spirit-destroying than the sight of ready-made manna raining down from heaven. Where is the man who never found a confirmation of his usefulness in the fruit of his labor? Where is the man who was never flattered by his ability to create? Could he go on living? Could he ever experience the joy of living? Would his soul ever allow him to absorb any beauty, even that found in nature's abundance?

No one doubts a woman's ability to make her husband happy or miserable. No one expects a man frustrated in his family life to be otherwise a happy, constructive, well balanced and self-fulfilled individual. Man just could not achieve all this in spite of his extreme family frustrations and disillusionments. Yet, a perverted sense of values tells us that man can achieve self-fulfillment in spite of frustrations emerging from his work. No matter how unsatisfying or distasteful work may be, this argument goes, you are well paid for the heartaches and frustrations by the money you get. As if all you worked for was money. As if work had nothing else to offer but a paycheck. As if nothing but the paycheck counted and influenced your life. It would be like judging your wife by nothing but her culinary efficiency.

Because work is so overwhelmingly important to a person's mental life, one must choose it as cautiously as he chooses the person who will share his life. Long before actually taking up a professional career, one should establish his preferences and aptitude. It is not a one time affair which, if unsatisfactory, can be easily abandoned for the next experience. It is a life commitment as permanent as the vows in a Catholic wedding. Even if a person should decide to change the type of work he initially chose, he is never going to divorce himself completely from the influences of that first professional encounter: his mind and emotions will remain, at least to a degree, molded by whatever he had been doing. His next choice will greatly depend on his former choice and its consequences. His new place in society will be vastly influenced by his former place in society. In a sense, he will always remain an ex-... a prejudice established not by snobbishness but by mental influences within him that can never be completely obliterated. He will be like Mrs. X who will always remain the former Mrs. Y.

THE SELF-CHEAT

Watch, therefore, a man at his work and you can find out all about him. You will learn what makes him tick, whether or not he has personal dignity, whether he has the ability of enjoying life, whether he is honest or crooked, what are his loyalties. A summation of all these will easily tell you not only what his relationship is with his work but also with his fellow men, whether at work or in any other encounter.

Recently I watched a mechanic do some work on my car, and in watching him I believe I gained an insight even into such aspects of his personality as were seemingly unrelated to his repairing of my car. Within the 40 minutes that the car was at his disposal he left his service area seven times for reasons that had nothing to do with his work. On one occasion he went across the station to get a coke from the dispenser, remaining there until he had emptied the bottle. Next he approached a fellow mechanic to ask him for a light for his cigarette even though a short while before I saw him use his own lighter. The cigarette lighting ceremony led to a conversation between the two men that lasted for several minutes. He had hardly finished his cigarette when a boy came in carrying a tray with coffee which once more distracted my mechanic. A while later, he reached for a piece of paper in his pocket, strolled over to the pay telephone and looking at the piece of paper dialed a number. Certain other distractions were not wholly his responsibility: other mechanics kept coming over, one to exchange impressions on the World Series, another to make a secretive reference to "that dame last night".

As I watched this nerve-racking forty minute ceremonial, I asked myself how in the world such a man made a living. Was it possible that his demoralized attitude towards his job could still provide enough of an income to support a family and himself? A saving factor was provided by the excellence of the tools at the man's disposal. In between his escapades across the plant he would reach for an electric revolver and in no time unscrew a bolt with it. But then, I reflected, the American worker did not always have such sophisticated machines at his disposal, yet he must have earned a living. Furthermore, the present availability of an electric machine amply testifies to the exertions of former American generations. So, sometime in the past, work must truly have meant work. But that belongs to the past.

When a Nation Cheats Itself

Work: Its Joys and

THE CHEAT IS CHEATED

It is not the whole truth that my mechanic's saving factor was the electric machine that replaced such a relatively uncomplicated and unstrutuous manual effort as unscrewing a bolt. One other saving factor was the bill presented to me a while later. Compared to the forty minutes the mechanic worked on my car, half of which was devoted to anything but work, the bill listed, in black and white, 4½ hours labor. When I questioned the service manager about the obvious discrepancy, I was made to realize that something was definitely wrong with me for questioning him. "Now listen, Mister", he said in a voice that was a mixture of inward indignation and outward threat, "I can show you the book and you'll see that that repair takes 4½ hours labor." Before I was totally intimidated, I managed to utter another word of protest only to be told: "Now, it ain't none of your business how long the man worked on that car, the book says 4½ hours and you have 4½ hours on your bill!" Whether it was his words or his still higher raised voice and fiery glance that "convinced" me is quite irrelevant. Suddenly, however, I realized that a man is capable of working 108 hours within an 8-hour work day. Or, at least charge a fee at that rate. If so, I asked myself, how come my mechanic (or his employer) is not a millionaire by now. The arithmetic seemed simple enough: if a man like my mechanic could devote no more than twenty hours a week to actual work yet be paid for 540 hours, and if even 40 hours weekly could support him and his family, then he should be able to accumulate a very substantial fortune in no time. Chances are, instead, that my mechanic has difficulties in meeting his bills and is forced to buy clothing for his children on the "lay away plan". How is that possible?—I asked myself. The answer was obvious: had he alone discovered a way of collecting exorbitant fees for minimum work, he could indeed enrich himself; but since the entire economy of which he is a part is an economy of such cheating and usury, his gains from his customers are neutralized by the gains of those he patronizes, or is employed by, in turn. After victimizing his customers, he in turn becomes their victim. His rent is paid on the same basis that enabled him to gain the equivalent of 4½ hours in twenty minutes of work. So is his food and clothing. When he takes his child to the physician for some kind of a vaccination, he and the hundreds of patients lined up on that "vaccination day" from morning until evening will each receive a \$5 invoice more surely than any degree of physical immunity. Or, when he buys vitamin pills for his child, he may have to pay a price that includes a 17,000 per cent markup of the manufacturer (the Upjohn Company, for instance). Then suppose he has some disabling accident at work and for a month or two his income ceases. He has to engage legal counsel to collect any compensation or indemnity. But legal counsel is no longer obtainable against a fee. Instead, the arrangement will be one of consignment; in other words, the lawyer gets a commission on his client's broken leg or smashed skull, because the lawyer too can no longer afford charging a fee in a fee-free society in which everybody overcharges everybody, in which everybody is a "sucker" as often as he buys anything or avails himself of any service. (A recent printer's bill of TMO typically included a charge of \$44.00 for the wrapping of 12 packages, for which 9 hours of labor were listed. All protests were rejected by the plant manager who does not need to fear more competitive billing standards by other local printers.)

THE UNLIMITED PROFIT

The consequences of such demoralization are fatal to the national economy. The fact that American products cannot compete on the international market except in times of a war-inflicted scarcity is due not so much to the higher standard of living of the American worker as to the internal inflation of values. The higher standard of living of the American worker, as far as prices are concerned, is largely, if not completely, offset by the much higher productivity and volume of the American economy due to its technical superiority and vast market. The uncompetitive prices of the American products on the international market have more to do with the speculative markup inherent in the American economy than with the actual cost of production.

In the pricing policies of American producers and marketers there is a lack of a direct relationship between the actual cost of production and the price of the merchandise. All too often, the two are only remotely, if at all, related. In our business psychology there is a lack of appreciation that markup and profit should amount to only a small fraction of the actual production cost. Rather the approach is: "How much is it worth to you?". I have seen, for instance, encyclopedias produced at 30 to 40 dollars sold for 500 dollars. As the sales pitch goes: "Isn't all that knowledge you get out

ysid Frustrations

of it worth a mere 500 dollars?" Of course, this is a completely irrelevant question: the encyclopedia producer is not entitled to a commission on the uses and benefits the customer might have from reading the volumes any more than the publishers owe a commission to Gutenberg for using his innovation; anymore than the lawyer is entitled to a commission on someone's compensation for a broken leg, unless the lawyer breaks a toe in the process.

A true laissez faire economy has built-in safeguards against this type of usury. Technical development and increased productivity and efficiency are accompanied by a process of diminishing rates of profits of which even pre-Marxian economists were acutely aware. A truly free competition is not confined to the relationship between producers and marketers on the one side and consumers on the other side: it also goes on among the producers themselves and, in rewarding the lowest cost production, offers protection to the consumer. It is the perversion of this basic mechanism of laissez faireism that enables our producers and marketers to establish markups that often exceed by far the cost of production.

THE PERIMETER OF PERVERSION

One need not guess at the pervasiveness of these malpractices of our entire economy. Prosecuted by the Justice Department, nineteen leading electrical manufacturers recently pleaded guilty to a wide range of these frauds. They victimized the citizen in more than one way. First, they victimized him in his consumer capacity. Secondly, they victimized him as a tax payer since the conspiracies that artificially and against all rules of laissez faire raised the prices were entered into against the consumers as well as against governmental agencies. The full extent of the fraud can hardly be ascertained since it has unavoidably contributed to a rise in prices of other industries and trades.

(It would be misleading to conclude that the prosecution of the electrical manufacturers testifies to the Federal Government's being a conscientious guardian of the public interest. This case constituted the exception rather than the rule. The courage the Justice Department displayed against a powerful lobby was prompted by the astronomical losses directly caused to the Government itself. But it is rather doubtful whether even this alone would have sufficed to insist upon obedience to the law by our economic tycoons. Usually, such actions on the part of the Government result from the pressure of another, competing lobby whose influence is stronger than that of the party against whom the prosecution has been initiated. It would, therefore, not be surprising were we one day to read in someone's diary what ulterior motives and behind-the-scenes intrigues were involved in making the Government enforce the law in the case of the electrical manufacturers. As a matter of fact unadulterated Government interest in combating fraud and usury, even to the completely inadequate degree to which frauds and usury are outlawed by our statutes, is absolutely unthinkable and impossible within the prevailing political structure of America, because this would involve challenging virtually the entire economy of the country, practically all of its manufacturers and traders and their economic practices.)

As widespread as price fixing conspiracies are, not all of them are necessarily explicit. Competition is as often squelched through tacit price fixing agreements as through explicit ones. Even when the rate of profits on a given product is still subject to competition among individual manufacturers, this does not necessarily preserve the consumer protecting economic checks of laissez faire.

Protection of this kind is offered only when the entire price of a product is open to competition. Only such total competition can encourage the manufacturer's interest in searching for less expensive, more effective and more satisfactory production and marketing procedures. This, however, is not the situation that prevails even in those sectors of our economy that cannot be accused of explicit price fixing conspiracies. Because it is a fact that the American manufacturer takes for granted that he must have a return for his investment. No matter how wasteful his production cost, no matter how disproportionate his promotion program (and the weaker its merits the greater the promotion), no matter how unsatisfactory his product, he is not dissuaded from producing and marketing it, knowing full well that his "competitors" follow the same procedures.

Normally, in a free economy the manufacturer attempts to work on a cost plus basis. He computes all costs involved in the manufacture of his product, adds to it a margin of desired profit and attempts to market it at that price. However, neither his investment nor his profit are completely safe. When his product reaches the market, it will have to compete with the products of other manufacturers. If they have employed a more efficient and economic process of production, or if they have attained a higher product quality, he may not only make no profit but even lose his

investment. Ultimately, therefore, his product will not be paid for on a cost plus basis but according to the interplay of supply and demand.

Yet, there are no laws in this country to protect laissez faireism against the tacit conspiracies of price fixing which are as damaging and perverting as the explicit conspiracies—and even more universal.

EXPLOSION OF THE INFLATED BALLOON

The unrelatedness between investment and profit reaches new heights as a result of general attempts to circumvent the spirit if not necessarily the letter of tax legislation. The manufacturer's (and not only the manufacturer's) price was arrived at by turning the tax pyramid upside down. First he considered how great a profit he must make out of his business pursuit. If his ambition is, let's say, to wind up with an annual profit of 50,000 dollars, a consultation with his accountant will quickly tell him what his gross profit must be in order for him to retain a 50,000 dollar net profit. The taxes he is expected to pay will thus be passed on to the customer as if they were not a part of his profit but of his actual production cost. The universality of this calculation accords complete protection to all participants and the profit-for-taxes part of the price is thereby armored against all competition. In consequence, while on the surface the businessman may be paying very high taxes, in actuality they do not compromise his own personal net profit one bit.

Of course, it was the intention of the tax legislation to collect a part of his profit, but this was circumvented by him. Ask a frank businessman, even a professional man, on what merits he claims a rather disproportionate and exorbitant rate of profit and he will tell you that in order for him to retain a single dollar after taxes, he must earn several dollars. As if it were the intention of tax legislation to tax not his profits but only the customer and the patient. In the next step, however, he forgets that he has increased his ratio of profits out of all proportion as a means of protecting his desired income against taxation: now he refuses to act as the middleman between the customer and the Internal Revenue. He starts conceiving of all the gross profit, including the part that was intended to cushion him against taxes, as his potential net profit were it not for the tax collector. His complaints against high taxes are least of all inhibited by the fact that in actuality his own profit is well armored.

Since the perversion is almost universal very few people benefit from it: the exorbitant profits their usury brings them are absorbed by the usury to which they are subjected in turn. Occasionally, there are great discrepancies between the degree of usury one exercises and the degree he is subjected to. They still offer opportunities for quick, astronomic enrichment. Its few beneficiaries reach the summit of wealth at a fantastic cost to the entire nation whose astronomically inflated prices confront, on the international market, the prices of economies in which markup is in a reasonable proportion to production cost. When this encounter becomes too unbearable to the foreign trade of America, there is only one solution: military defeat of the competing national economies. Pre-World War II Japan provides the most classical if tragic case in point.

THE HUMAN DAMAGE

Even more serious is the human damage caused to the mechanic, his employer, his landlord, physician, lawyer, druggist, in a word to the entire society. The price my mechanic paid in human values by charging 13½ times his actual earning was devastating. It consisted of a refutation of man's joy in creating. It buried his pride in seeing the fruit of his labor. It deprived him of the encouraging knowledge that what he made enriched the lives of other people. It took away the true purpose of his 8 hours in a temple of creation. All this has been replaced by nothing but a mechanism of cheating, an indiscriminating means of laying one's hands upon money. And even this was an illusion, an empty, economically meaningless illusion, because the money so gained will be so spent. He is not the only cheat around: rather he is cheating merely to keep pace with others. What a poor, deprived soul he carried away with him after the work day was over! How little human sensitivity was left within him now to go home and make the most of his relationship with his wife and child! How will his mind, for eight hours focused on nothing but "getting money", suddenly reverse itself and in his after-work hours open itself to new vistas of thought enrichment and beauty absorption? He will come home neither an enviable husband, nor an enviable father, nor an enviable neighbor. He will try hard in all his relationships to be on the receiving side, unaware of how tragically he keeps shortchanging himself. He may slowly if frustratingly be gaining in his material standard of living but his culture will essentially remain a tooth brush culture. Neither the shinier shoe, nor the more modern furniture in his house will be accompanied by a concomitant refinement of the mind and soul. His achievements will be exhibitionary, not inward. And, to top it all, he will become a modern neurotic, angry at the world and all the people around him that engage him in such a never ending and never resolved struggle. Soon he will be reflected in our national statistics as one among the multitude of mentally maladjusted, neurotic and psychotic people.

Of course, such mechanics can be found everywhere, but not everywhere will his type be representative of almost all mechanics. Furthermore, in our society he is as representative of his peers as his psychological twins are representative of their fields of endeavor.

America has become a country in which the joy of creation has been submerged in a universal system of relationships in which everyone is trying to take advantage of everyone.

It is symptomatic of a degenerated attitude towards one's calling that so many of our physicians, for instance, are as great stock market experts as they are medical experts. Why should a man involved in as social a profession as that of the physician, who by virtue of his professional work alone is gaining material comfort, still be interested in sheer financial speculation? Would he be that greedy had he derived the full mental satisfaction his profession potentially offers? Or is it that even though he has taken the Hippocratic Oath, he is still first and foremost a businessman, his medical practice being his equivalent of the shopkeeper's merchandise? In his stock market speculations, isn't he resorting to the same occupational infidelity as the mechanic who charges you even for time in which he performed no service for you? The widespread and humiliating practice of tipping is another symptom of people who are missing the satisfactions of creating and earning.

One must contrast our chiseling attitude towards work with the meaningful work concept in many other societies, in Germany for instance. Tell the German cobbler, plumber, carpenter or mechanic that his work is acceptable and satisfactory to you before it is acceptable and satisfactory to him, and you stand little chance of having the product released to you. His pride of creating won't let him cheat you even when you prove to be gullible or indifferent. Or attempt to pay him more for his work than he estimated was due him, and you will have insulted him. Because he is not there to grab money from you but to EARN it, and by offering him more than he believes he has earned you put him in a beggar's category. (If you were in Europe and had experiences that seemed to contradict this characterization, most probably you should ascribe them to "coca-colonization", to borrow a recently coined phrase.)

Even if no other fault could be found in American life, this alone would suffice to account for a most unenviable degree of general demoralization and social perversion. What is shocking is that this perversion of values has been imposed by a small group of people upon a nation that has only so recently known the spirit of pioneering, its challenges and rewards.

THE SOCIAL DAMAGE

Yet, basically Americans are no different from all other people. They share with all of humanity a potential for virtue and a potential for demoralization. It is not the American individual who is in any way inferior to other individuals, but the social machine that regulates his life and establishes his changeable psychological responses. Never before in history have the benefits of the few derived from the damages to so many; never before has the status quo depended upon such universal dehumanization.

From the disillusioning revelations of a Kinsey all the way to our international policies the effects are felt: we are a nation no longer in love with work, a nation deprived of the healing and dignifying joy of creation. Of course, exertion is still with us and we have not yet discovered how to accumulate money completely without it, but it has become like the hated, frustrating, annoying wife to whom one is bound by enslaving bonds rather than love.

There is a definite and mutual influence among a nation's economic, political and cultural practices. One was sadly reminded of this co-relation when, during the aforementioned prosecution of the electrical manufacturers, the fourth largest American corporation in sales, the General Electric Company, emerged in a triple role: as a swindler, as a direct political power and as a pimp. In addition to its price-fixing swindles, it has been established that the company was supplying prostitutes to customers as well as an advisor to former President Eisenhower—Ralph Cordiner, who, in addition to being the corporation's chief executive officer, served as the chairman of the Business Advisory Council.

It would be very important and highly interesting were someone to conduct a Kinsey-type inquiry into Americans' attitude towards their work. How many people would he find that are satisfied and content with their trades, professions and business pursuits? What would be the percentage of the frustrated, dissatisfied and disgusted? How do the frustrations they encounter in their professional activities affect the remainder of their lives and activities? How do their frustrating work relationships affect their other human relationships? How do they affect the cultural patterns of different groups and those of the entire nation? It may be impossible to guess the statistical details of the results of such an inquiry but it is more than a guess that the overall picture would be very, very bleak.

The price we as a nation are paying for our unwholesome concept of work is immense. Young people hardly ever search themselves for their true professional aptitude; they know their work need not be the work of love. Instead, their inquiry into themselves is concerned with nothing but the field in which they have the greatest earning capacity. In addition to all the damage to the individual, as a people we are becoming a nation of frustrates. Typical is the man who, holding his nose between his fingers, tries to make the most money out of work he is resigned not to otherwise enjoy. Untold reservoirs of ingenuity, energy and enthusiasm are lost to the nation and the reflection of that depravity is quite tangible in what is becoming of our national culture.

The Junior's Minority

(This feature is reserved for contributions by high school and college students. Each contributor is awarded a complimentary subscription to TMO either for himself or for the person or library of his choice.)

A Call to Youth

By Bill Henry

Does youth dare to practice the idealism of nonviolence?

Ideas are on the march. Forces are abroad whose time has come. Youth are the receptacles of these ideas. They are able to bring unjust orders to an end. The past year has seen the passing away of the silent generation. Today the white cloaked phantom of race prejudice fears for its existence as never before. It joins with the other forces of darkness to stave off its own annihilation. "Error is wounded; it writhes with pain."

Youth leads in the battle because it is naive and inexperienced enough, foolish enough, to dare to superimpose starry-eyed ideals upon the facts of cold reality. Youth is prepared to give itself for truth because it has not yet been bribed by wealth, comfort, fear and social pressure. Youth leads because it has only itself to give and so is able to give all. Youth is still tender to the injuries of injustice.

Around the world youthful idealists have grasped that complex of ideas which alone is able to keep civilization afloat. Today's whispering breeze of nonviolence is able to turn into a whirlwind of spiritual force. This nonviolence is "twice blest". It blesses him against whom it is used as well as him who uses it. The power of nonviolence is the ideal way, the loving way, the courageous way, the Christian way, and the truly effective way to oppose evil.

Men are born into a world containing both good and evil. In such a world life has a purpose. In such a world man is born into a struggle. In such a situation man can cease to struggle only at the risk of not really having lived. It is for this reason that bodies are created; it is for this reason that men are born: that they might seek out the truth and bear witness to it. Youth consciously and unconsciously bring new meaning into their lives as they present their bodies and their actions in efforts to achieve truth and justice. Gradually they learn that it is in heroism that life's mystery is hidden.

Youth is willing to "live dangerously" and to answer to the cry for heroes in the moral and spiritual realm. Youth, who do not divorce their beliefs from their actions, are in prisons today to achieve racial justice and universal disarmament. When others join them in fearless action the two greatest evils in our world can be defeated.

"There is one man in the world and his name is all men"; there is one religion in the world and its name is truth. Youth is able to rally to the support of this man in his religion. It proves itself able to produce the incredible effort which truth demands. The truly dedicated youth shows that he is not deterred by discomfort and annoyance, hunger and wet, pain and cold, squalor and filth, depth upon depth of exertion, or even death. He discovers new energy and power and life more abundantly as he participates in the strenuous life of nonviolence. The soul truly dedicated to nonviolence can be unbribed and free from material things. Such a youth can pave his way by what he is and does rather than by what he has. He is prepared to fling away his life as a witness to truth for he is the moral fighting man.

God offers every human being the choice between truth and repose, but he cannot choose both. He who chooses repose may get comfort, ease, luxury and affluence, but he closes the door to truth. He who really chooses truth finds insecurity, truth, crisis, adventure and life more abundant. "Youth, sow in yourselves the seed of nonviolence, then 'sow yourselves, sow the living part of yourselves in the furrow of life.'"

Bill Henry is a young pacifist. This appeal was written by him in the New Haven jail, where he was held after boarding the *Polaris* missile submarine *Ethan Allen*, in protest against armaments.

The New Administration (Continued from page 1)

keep rationalizing a compatibility between their progressiveness and whatever comes out of Washington.

In this situation one must master a great deal of painful integrity not to let his convictions be altered by inward desires and inclinations. This writer too would more than welcome an opportunity to abandon the lonely role of a critic and dissenter. However, whether or not we are going to have a war, whether or not government will be exercised for the true benefit of the people does not depend on the brightness or darkness of the glasses we wear. There is an inexorable world outside our own minds that develops according to its own laws, and it is the first duty of any observer not to distort his vision of it. With this in mind, let us examine whether the social critic can welcome the Kennedy Administration with a sigh of relief.

There was hardly ever a less exciting, less intriguing changing of the guard than the one that has just taken place in Washington. In view of the overwhelming indications of the overall course the new Administration will be pursuing, the composition of Mr. Kennedy's Cabinet became a relatively banal detail, deprived of true political significance. This course, which will keep manifesting itself as time passes on, was at no point open to bargaining between Mr. Kennedy and the men he sought to serve him. The dilemma was completely one-sided: either the prospective member of the Cabinet accepted Mr. Kennedy's basic philosophy or there was no room for him in the new Administration. Under these circumstances the Cabinet appointments became quite meaningless politically. The Adlai Stevenson of 1952 or 1956, for instance, would be completely unacceptable to Mr. Kennedy; if nevertheless he was still given a secondary assignment in 1961, this followed a transmutation that deprived even this choice of unique political significance.

Election campaign slogans and pronouncements do not suffice to offer an authentic insight into the unnegotiable principles of the new President. The only way to distinguish between the hypocritical and the sincere in election campaign pronouncements is to relate them to political advocacies independent of the campaign. Even Mr. Kennedy's heavy emphasis upon increased militarization and his bellicose prescription for dealing with Cuba, as expressed during the campaign, did not necessarily have to indicate his actual policies once entrenched in the White House. Independent evidence, however, has confirmed the genuineness and authenticity of Mr. Kennedy's pronouncements on those issues, with all the broad implications inherent in his position.

The evidence was negative but compelling: any American leader that would seriously undertake or even consider abandoning the cold war and the military and political steps leading to it without

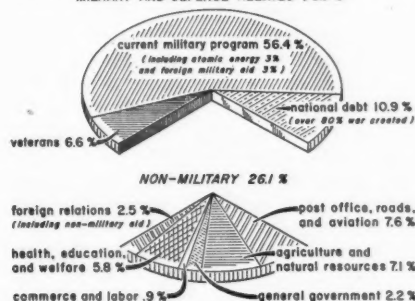
first planning and undertaking an overhaul of our economy would be nothing less than a traitor. He would be preparing America's doom. He would be causing an economic collapse whose catastrophic dimensions would not only be far more devastating than those of the 1929 crash but also the political suicide of the nation. He would be presenting to America's adversaries, on a golden platter, a victory such as they never dreamed of and without any cost to them. That's why all professions for peace, demilitarization, disarmament and the pacification of international relations are nothing but a fraudulent pretense for as long as they are not accompanied by serious, realistic planning for the conversion of our economy so that it no longer depends on the stimulation of the war industry. This and only this remains the final, unequivocal test of the sincerity of all peace pursuing pronouncements of our politicians. If Isaiah himself was resurrected and became the President of the United States reciting his Oracle XI as his State of the Union Message, I would not believe him unless he first produced alternatives for the American people to be fed and for American business to prosper.

Mr. Kennedy is not known to have undertaken any study of or search for

represented in Mr. Kennedy's Cabinet when the administration of justice is placed in the hands of Robert Kennedy who was tutored in the meaning of justice and corruption by Senator McClellan and whose only public distinction was to lead a grand smear and intimidation campaign against labor. There is also room for apprehensions about the particular meaning of improved labor-management relations as advocated by the new Secretary of Labor, Arthur J. Goldberg. Could it be that labor-management "peace" will be read into some form of compulsory labor-management arbitration, amounting to a new fascist climax in limiting labor's role in America? Much seems to be pointing in this direction, and the new Secretary of Labor's former connections with the politically most timid and compliant labor unions constitutes not the slightest obstacle to such a fascist interpretation of labor interests.

The present recession, whose full extent is not being admitted by Government agencies, will from the very outset add momentum to Mr. Kennedy's pledged increase of armaments. Still more armaments will become the Kennedy formula for overcoming the economic dip. Little surprise that the proponents of total military "security" have received the new Administration with fanfares. One of their most outspoken leaders, General Maxwell Taylor, former Army Chief of Staff, in his article "Security Will

\$83 BILLION VOTED BY CONGRESS IN 1960*
MILITARY AND DEFENSE RELATED 73.9 %



*The \$83 billion includes all funds appropriated by Congress during calendar 1960, regardless of whether the money was spent in the fiscal year ended June 30, 1960, or allocated to the year ending June 30, 1961. The breakdown is as follows:
Supplementals, fiscal 1960.....\$ 984,449,000
Regular, fiscal 1961.....72,649,886,989
Permanent, fiscal 1961.....9,695,400,000
Total\$83,329,735,989

"If the expenditure on weapons systems increases during the next five years at the same rate as it has during the last five, . . . close to 50 per cent of the total U. S. production and business in 1965 may be directly or indirectly war goods and services."

—HARRISON BROWN and JAMES REAL in "Community of Fear"

such alternatives. This, more than anything else, bespeaks the primary purposes of his Administration and confirms the sincerity of his election campaign emphasis upon added military "security". The appointment of Adlai Stevenson or anyone else can weigh little in the balance with the lack of preparations or even plans for the conversion of our economy into a peaceful one.

That the new Cabinet includes men like the Achesonian Dean Rusk as Secretary of State, C. Douglas Dillon as Secretary of the Treasury, and the (Ford Motor Company) representative of heavy industry, Robert S. McNamara, as Secretary of Defense is a further confirmation of Mr. Kennedy's philosophy of a "healthy" war industry with all its implications for international relations.

One must indeed become apprehensive about the very nature of the liberalism

Not Wait" (*Foreign Affairs*, January 1961) leaves no doubt that he considers Mr. Kennedy's ascent to power a victory for his own advocacy of ever more armaments. Hailing the victory of his views in Washington, he now proceeds to urge that an increase in American armaments be undertaken at once without even waiting for time-consuming plans to be worked out. His plea to President Kennedy in essence is: "Since we both favor increased military spendings, why wait until the slow Pentagon machinery can mastermind them? Let's go ahead and improvise! Let's first arm and then plan!" The prevailing economic conditions in the country might provide an inducement for the new Administration to adopt the General's arm-first-think-later formula.

To provide the necessary rationalizations for our peculiar brand of socialism

(Continued on page 16)

Reform by the People*

By Thomas H. Uzzell

My countrymen will not rush to the barricades on reading these words. Tom Paine sparked the Revolution in the midst of confusion, hysteria, and suffering. I am proposing revolution in the midst of "prosperity." I expect no pentecost. I have been discouraged by experts. It is entirely possible that that which ought to be done won't be. According to the tragic evidence of history we are, as a society, doomed to drift, to suffer, and in time lament with endless regrets, ruining the opportunities we have missed. And yet there is a chance. Our reformers, Robert Maynard Hutchins tells us, must today take a chance or die. A prophet may yet arise to save us.

There is a big difference between the threatened collapse of our civilization and all others that have dropped into the dust bin of history: the latter never knew what was happening to them. We do know. Others had no Teddy Roosevelt, no La Follette, no Woodrow Wilson, no Wilkie, no Bertrand Russell, no John Dewey, no C. Wright Mills. Our prophets have warned us. We also have means of communication able to flash news and information to every corner of the land. If we fail it will not be because we never faced our problems. Words like these can't hope to solve these problems but they can make clearer just what these problems are.

If we fail, our alibi cannot be that human beings are innately incompetent socially. Dean Swift, Rousseau, Ghandi, and the early Christians were not wrong: if human beings abuse, hate and kill each other the reason is not that they are human but that they are inhuman. In our graduate class at Columbia University Professor Franklin Giddings some years ago preached Kropotkin's "consciousness of kind" as the instinct in people for grouping together peaceably. A fascinating case in evidence is offered in the recent "The Harmless People" by Elizabeth Marshall Thomas.

For months Mrs. Thomas and a staff of scientists lived with the Gikwe Bushmen who today roam the vast Kalahari Desert of Bechuanaland of southwest Africa. These people, related to the Hottentots, are believed to be the most primitive and uncivilized tribe in existence. Their desert home is cruelly inhospitable. For nine months there is no rain with temperatures up to 120 by day and freezing at night. There are no forests, no accessible rivers, and nothing to live on but wild melons, berries, roots and occasionally an antelope. The Bushmen are a naked, small, light-skinned, very handsome (the author's photographs bear this out) people. They were shy but not hostile when approached by the visitors and when assured of their peaceful purpose they were hospitable and

communicated freely. Here for the anthropologists to study was a people untouched by civilization. Many small tribes drift about the desert, making contact with each other and all at times desperately short of food or water. Nevertheless there are no tribal wars. When conflicts arise, they simply remove the cause of the disagreement. Murder is unknown. They have no kings or chiefs; a headman directs their nomadic movements but is in no other way different from the rest of the family or tribe. They have no liquor, money, jails, churches, gambling, thievery or laws.

For two hundred years critics have dismissed as exaggerations the peaceable, unspoiled *houyhnhnms* of Dean Swift's "Gulliver's Travels," but the Gikwe Bushmen seem to furnish proof of the underlying truth of the satirist's utopian vision. Perhaps there was a Garden of Eden after all! In any case, Mrs. Thomas' Bushmen seem to tell us that civilized man deliberately contrives his own destruction. The Old Testament prophet said it long ago: "God hath made man upright, but they have sought out many inventions." The outstanding, the incredible sin of our own American tribe of bushmen is greed. We talk the brotherhood of democracy but practice greed; we organize and proliferate greed in our institutions. At the bottom of the cowardice found in our schools, the treason of our government officials, the sterility in our churches festers this national curse. We hoard our gold and make pilgrimages to the spot where it is buried to gaze with inflamed imaginations at the arsenal protecting it. The seal of the United States used on official documents in the White House is made of solid gold. Money talks. The businessman tries to take you before you take him. Our idea of a politician is one who, when bought, stays bought. We congratulate a young woman for "marrying well" when she sees to it that a good bank balance accompanies the promise to love, honor and obey. The path of glory among our tribesmen leads but to the pile of jack.

If I seem to exaggerate, I can only turn attention to that least moralistic of moralizers, C. Wright Mills. In his "The Power Elite," he tells us that the will of the American has been so weakened by empty distractions and mindless self-indulgences that he can "accept public depravity without any private sense of outrage." Our author provides a long list of petty misdemeanors, thefts, law violations, criminal conspiracies, bribery, cheating, hijacking, rackets, every refinement of crime, to show that all classes of the American people are honeycombed with corruption.

No one who is spending more money than he ever spent before in his life can be interested in social changes. It isn't that he can't think; he simply won't listen. Many of the indifferent suffer from a somewhat vague but nevertheless real fear of being

questioned by the security police, of being tagged with subversion, of losing social status, or even of being fired from a job or losing customers in a business. Such people remember the terrors whipped up during the McCarthy era and never will they know again the self-confidence and pride which are supposed to be the birthright of every American. Then, again, many of these slacker citizens are, without knowing it, victims of mass communications propaganda. In former ages power groups rose to enslave and exploit the people until the hungry masses revolted; today radio and television are being used by the power elite to prevent any revolt by talking the people out of it, by making them incapable of it. If mass communications glamorize wealth, the fast buck, the material success, until these goals become a religion of the people, what chance have the political ideals of the First Amendment?

The crispest diagnosis I have found of our ills, which must be cured, is expressed in a single sentence by Robert Maynard Hutchins: "*Our real problems are concealed from us by our current remarkable prosperity, which results in part from the production of arms that we do not expect to use, and in part from our new way of getting rich, which is to buy things from one another that we do not want at prices we cannot pay, on terms we cannot meet, because of advertising we do not believe.*"

I believe that the masses of our people want the cold war ended and their taxes reduced. I believe they will follow and support any leader who openly and courageously espouses these causes and explains to them how they can assert their authority and send to Washington representatives who will carry out their desires.

The famous Stockholm Peace Petition of a few years ago calling for the complete abolition of the nuclear bomb was signed by two hundred million people, including two and a half million Americans. Popular polls indicate that the government is not serving the interests of the voters who elected it and that most of these voters realize this and are worrying about it. I have before me a list of organizations, secular and religious, which are calling for peace and government reforms. Liberal newspapers and magazines, books, columnists, and a few courageous Congressmen, are countering the vast barrage of reactionary propaganda with the facts. For the first time in history a people facing its loss of world dominance and leadership is well fed, able to read, and has had almost two centuries of self-government. It has never known defeat in war with the abasement of surrender. Such a people would understand if they were told what they should now know.

Our democracy will not survive unless the political problems I have set forth are solved. Congress will not reform itself. It is not a job for Congress or any committees

*Mr. Uzzell is an author, former faculty member of Columbia University, the New York University and the College of Oklahoma, and a former editor of the *Nation's Business* and *Collier's*. This is a continuation of excerpts from his forthcoming book, "The Constitution Speaks," the first installment of which appeared in the December 1960 issue of TMO.

THE WAY WE SEE IT

EVEN GOLDFINE IS HUMAN

Least of all do we have sympathy for Bernard Goldfine, the millionaire scavenger who built a fortune through the insidious mastery of corruption, who is a symbol of materialistic degeneration, who in the process involved his natural allies—the Washingtonian political agents of a financial empire, penetrating as far and deep as the White House itself. Yet, even Goldfine is a human being, and no matter how despicable a character, it is heart rending to see him between the claws of ruthless sadists. Goldfine was punished for his crimes, then punished again for someone's pleasure, and is about to be punished again and again for someone's additional sadistic pleasure. It is a feature of our official psychology not to let go of the victim until his last breath has been taken. Jailed and rejailed, driven to insanity, brought to financial ruin, it would seem that Goldfine has amply paid for his offenses—but not quite enough to satisfy the vengeance of a sadistic machine. So Goldfine keeps making headlines, but now it is already a story of persecution, not prosecution. No amount of suffering will appease his persecutors so long as they can wring out yet another drop of blood, yet another tear of humiliation, yet another sigh of pain.

What accounts for this sadistic dealing with the guilty? Why the inhuman consistency, the ruthlessness, the sadistic pleasure of persecuting to the very end? Why weren't we satisfied, after all the punishment we inflicted upon a Caryl Chessman, until the last ounce of punishment was extracted? Why did we hound that defense counselor who offered his professional services to the Rosenbergs until we drove him to suicide? And why won't we let go of a Goldfine until our eyes are delighted with the sight of his body plummeting down from some skyscraper? Why won't we settle for something less than suicide, or rather homicide?!

HANDS OFF, GUNS ON . . .

Our apologies to America and specifically to Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, Mr. Allen Dulles, the State and Justice Departments, the House Committee on Un-American Activities and all other people and agencies we have ever insulted. It turns out that they are the true guardians of freedom and democracy, that all our accusations to the contrary are the inventions of our unappreciative mind. There is just no freedom like that offered in America. Consider, for instance, the anti-Castro military camp on Miami's Flagler Street. With pride our newspapers have featured the story and pictures of several hundred armed Cubans and Americans being trained in order to invade Cuba and rid it of its present Government (See *The Washington Post* of December 26, 1960.) Of course, anyone accusing us of what we usually accuse the Communists of, namely of masterminding sabotage and staging military coups in other countries, is a hostile foreign agent. The pictures of armed Cubans and Americans openly training for an anti-Castro invasion are no more than a testimony to the freedom of those who live in America. Therefore, I call on every American and every foreigner living in America who oppose the dictatorships of the Philippines, Spain or any other country to show up on the White House lawn in Washington for military training against the dictators. Should a guard stop you at the gate, just tell him you are going to do something as unobjectionable to the American authorities as the military training of the Cuban counter-revolutionaries. To bear out your story show him the gun you will carry with you. Also tell him I will be there shortly, bringing with me all the equipment needed for the training and invasions: rifles, machine guns, hand grenades, etc. And, should you run into the new President, thank him for the unadulterated freedom he keeps preserving.

AN INCIDENTAL ADMISSION

The consistency with which our Government agencies have been claiming the privilege of lying to the public with respect to scientific and technical data is not only amazing—it may also prove fatal. When scientists and technicians of integrity undertake, at a great personal risk, to educate the public on dangers carefully concealed by the Pentagon and its scientific charlatans who have learned to work in laboratories but never got their minds and hearts truly educated, they are usually dismissed as irresponsible agitators of fear. The argument always is that our rulers are responsible men who would never do a thing contrary to the interests and safety of the people.

When recently the electronic computers at the U.S. Distant Early Warning radar station in Thule, Greenland started flashing, mistakenly announcing "apparently a mass attack by ballistic missiles, coming from east and aimed at the United States," the Pentagon apologists could still claim the reliability of their warning apparatus by pointing out that the mistake was discovered in time to prevent "retaliatory" measures. In the January 1961 issue of *Foreign Affairs*, however, General Maxwell Taylor, former Army Chief of Staff, uses an eye opening argument in favor of developing an anti-missile missile: "In an emergency, such a weapon would allow us to hold our retaliatory fire until we were sure that we were truly under hostile attack." The inference is obvious: at present it is possible for our "retaliatory" fire to be released even though we are not under attack.

It is typical that such admissions of the petrifying truth are embedded in arguments for making the truth even more petrifying. There can be little doubt that when still another missile is promoted, arguments will be raised that the new weapon will alleviate the unreliability of General Taylor's favorite.

Sholem Aleichem's Bomb

It would indeed be foolish both politically and militarily for the Government of Israel to produce atomic bombs. While the possession of such bombs by Israel could never be a militarily decisive factor in a world in which each of two antagonistic camps is equipped with a multitude of them, it would expose Israel to instantaneous total destruction in case of war. That's why the assurances of Prime Minister Ben-Gurion's Government that its atomic reactor is intended for peaceful uses have an authentic ring.

There were, however, at least two ominous asides in the exchange of notes between Washington and Jerusalem. The State Department, in expressing surprise if not misgivings that a nuclear reactor was being built in a sovereign country without its knowledge and sanction, displayed an imperial attitude quite consis-

tent with the centralization of the Communist block of nations that we impute to the Kremlin. It has played the role of the International Big Brother.

Imprudent as it would be for Israel to build atomic bombs, she has demonstrated her capacity for building them. It would be equally imprudent for other nations to lay their fingers on the nuclear trigger. Yet, our State Department and the Pentagon keep pressuring them into accepting nuclear bombs and submarines. We are even offering them to Hitler's generals on NATO's payroll. Consequently, whoever produces or actually uses atomic weapons will do so at our ultimate responsibility. Our State Department's apprehensions over the Israeli atomic reactor are reminiscent of Sholem Aleichem's convict who pleaded mercy because he became an orphan after killing his parents . . .

From READERS' LETTERS

"THE DEFECTORS FROM TRUTH"

I recently obtained a copy of your November 1960 issue from a local newsstand and I enjoyed it very much. Your article "The Defectors from Truth" attracted my attention. In my opinion, however, the door should be left open for four possible contentions. But the fourth contention would possibly only spark up in a Russian mind: that William H. Martin and Bernon F. Mitchell are U. S. spies.

You might wonder how such an idea can form itself in a non-Russian mind. During World War II, the Dutch Resistance Forces were pretty well battered by "converted" National Socialists who had disagreed with the Party in 1937. Experience, however, taught us a bitter lesson during the period from 1940 to 1945. I do not have to go into details but will only mention the resulting persecution by the Gestapo, being placed on the wanted list of the Sicherheitsdienst, arrests, and the miraculous escapes of those so-called converted persons. After all one has to play the game intelligently; and one has to be even more intelligent to evade the traps. The Rudolf Hess case was also a fine example, although any intelligent high school kid could have seen the real intentions behind the play.

The fourth contention may just be something that would not be borne out by reality, and I have no intention of accusing any intelligence service. On the other hand, the Soviet Intelligence Service might consider such a possibility, and I am almost sure they do. The discourses in "The Defectors from Truth" can also be seen in a different, diffused light.

Grand Rapids, Mich. FLYING DUTCHMAN.

THE EFFECT . . .

You have no idea what effect your magazine has had on me. I am 18 years old, attending college, and my own personal fight against hypocrisy was being beaten down by the overwhelming odds—all of society. The realization that there are other "minorities of one" was probably the most revitalizing thing that has come to me in a long, long while.

I came across TMO by sheer accident. A friend of mine brought a copy from New York City. As I read it I was stunned. I could not imagine why you were not already testifying before the House Un-American Activities Committee. But the most wonderful thing about it was the fact that I was a journalism major at college. I have wanted for many years to publish a magazine exactly like yours, or at least become a part of one. I am no longer a journalism major; I switched to art because I found it is the only form of expression that satisfies me and because I feel it is the best way to find the truth I am looking for.

I am very worried that you may have to stop publishing, but I will round up some of my friends to start a subscription drive. Unfortunately, many people are afraid, but we just have to dig out the other "minorities of one". I hope the magazine stays alive long enough until I am in a position to really help the way I want to. I admire you for what you are, what you think, and most of all, because you are not afraid to say it.

Garden City, N. Y. LYNDA SHORES.

"THE GREAT SALK VACCINE FIASCO"

I have learned of The Minority of One in the December 1960 issue of Herald of Health which reproduced Dr. Zeisler's article "The Great Salk Vaccine Fiasco". What a story that is! God help us uninformed Americans! I have five little ones to raise in this 20th century of so called enlightenment!

Glenside, Pa. JOHN SIEGFRIED.

I belong to an independent group of veterans. After reading the article on the Salk vaccine by Dr. Zeisler we immediately arranged to have him address our group. The result was one of profound shock. We felt that the public has again been deceived, this time in an area affecting not only our pocketbooks but in a way that chilled any devoted parent.

We all need a periodical of this nature and laud anyone with the courage to publish it. Chicago, Ill. NORMAN BERCOON.

"THE WELL INFORMED MISINFORMERS"

I read in The Technocrat a reprint of your article "The Well Informed Misinformers". It was very good, and I wish to have additional copies of it.

Leucodia, Calif. ALVIN STALCUP.

CONSTRUCTIVE CRITICISM . . .

I have read your magazine with great interest and found it excellent. The human warmth and understanding and the constructive criticism of your articles impressed me deeply. I am trying to help in a modest way by circulating your publication among my co-workers in the office and my schoolmates (I attend night-school at Columbia University).

Brooklyn, N. Y. LYDIA R. SHREBNICK.

EVER? NO, NEVER!

I don't think I have ever read a more worthwhile magazine. Every article is provocative of deep thought.

Waukesha, Wis. LOUIS MAYER

CHARACTERIZING MILLIONAIRES IS BIGOTRY

Dedication to the elimination of all thought restriction except for the truth is a wonderful goal, except truth is a quality not to be judged by one man alone. It is ultimately a distillate of an infinite number of subjective impressions.

Your newsletter, to which I subscribed to support a voice for opinions generally unvoiced, turns out to be somewhat doctrinaire and quite class conscious, and thus destructive of its own imposed task. In the article "Torture for Fun and Profit" (August, 1960 issue), the fact may be that horses are blistered to make them prance in a delicate way, but the fact that the owners are millionaires (if indeed they all are) is probably irrelevant. Your paper would be the first to protest a newspaper story in which criminals and muggers were described by the color of their skin, their races or religions. Why? Because these facts are irrelevant. By the same token, not all millionaires torture horses.

The story of concentration camps (August and September issues) is of interest, but to compare them to those in Germany is inflammatory and misleading. Likewise, human experimentation in our prisons is on a voluntary basis. The story on Chessman states repeatedly like the drum beats of martial music that he was killed by the State of California. So he was after due process of law, and perhaps the author had a point to make, but it was obscured by the dramatic shrillness of the article.

This newsletter could be good, right now it isn't in my opinion, because it doesn't attain a high level of inquiry. It suffers from what it attacks, which fundamentally is the blindness that attends preformed opinions.

Elkins Park, Pa. CHARLES HARRIS, M.D.

"TORTURE FOR FUN AND PROFIT"

I shall be utilizing Robert Anton Wilson's article "Torture For Fun and Profit" (August 1960 issue of TMO) a great deal, so that I would appreciate additional copies of the issue containing it.

May I also commend your articles for their high quality. Quite apart from the basic attribute of integrity in reporting facts, the level of writing is exceptionally high in dealing with politico-social-economic topics. After having plodded through Business Week and U. S. News & World Reports for years, I was pleasantly surprised to learn from The Minority of One that these subjects can be dealt with in a literary manner, with precise and unambiguous semantics employed, each topic lucidly and cogently explored, with a proper introductory concept, an explanatory or exemplifying body, and an ineluctable conclusion from the foregoing, whether or not one agrees with the basic premise.

Brooklyn, N. Y. RUTH SCHREIBER, Att'y at Law

THE MCCARRAN CAMPS

Although we already subscribe to Monthly Review, The Nation, Peoples World, National Guardian, Free Press and the ACLU News, we must add your magazine to our list. I was particularly interested in the article on the McCarran camps (See "Shadow Over America", by Mary Hays Welk, August and Sept. 1960 issues of TMO). I had heard of them, but no one seemed able to give me any information about them.

Baltimore, Md. RICHARD P. WIEBE

A COMPLIMENT FOR AN 8-YEAR-OLD LINGUISTIC CHILD

I admire you greatly and am grateful that there is an editor like you to write as you do to the point and so well. Please, don't accede to those who want you to spell out your ideas in simple English. It is wonderful to read English as you write it, and for those of us who glow with beautiful use of words it is welcome rain in the desert.

What you write is so right, so evocative that it seems it should pierce the thick shell of indifference most people bear as an armor. You know, of course, that the people who read your paper are the ones who agree but even so it is warming to see a knight ride out to right the wrongs. It seems that somehow the number of people necessary to effect a basic change must be awakened.

Each month for a time Elsie E. Smith and I—we both are retired H.S. teachers—will send a contribution to your publication fund.

You are familiar, no doubt, with the other liberal publications such as . . . They all are good, but I'd give up all for The Minority of One. More power to you and may you reap what you deserve for your magnificent work. You are right up there with Ghandi and Schweitzer in my estimation.

Thermal, Calif. BERNICE C. MCCOLLUM.

WITH THE HELP OF SUBSCRIBERS . . .—AMEN!

Enclosed is a gift subscription. Each month I look forward to reading the provocative and well written articles in TMO. It is my earnest hope that you will find it possible, with the help of subscribers like myself, to continue your heroic efforts to enlighten us all.

San Francisco, Calif. DORIS SANCHEZ.

THE TRUTH ABOUT LATIN AMERICA

He who gives the best to others deserves the best in return and I, therefore, know that the New Year will bring you just that. Your publication leaves me full of praise. It must succeed in spite of all obstacles. Your publication stimulates thought and that is what the United States needs most.

Being a Guatemalan I can testify that everything you say about Latin America is true. The CIA, like the French Foreign Legion, is using Nazis and criminals from all over the world. They form the embassy goon squads. I have seen them attack women and children of all ages. During the invasion of Guatemala in 1954 they machine gunned peasants who had recovered land from the United Fruit Company. Many succeeded to flee and there are now 15,000 Guatemalans in Mexico alone. The aid the United Nations offers to refugees should be extended to include also the victims of the CIA. Let there be no doubt but that those who deserted Arbenz and now Castro are handsomely paid by the U. S. State Department. Arbenz is still loved very much by the Guatemalan people and whenever his name is mentioned among them, they express their reverence by a few moments of silence. Arbenz and Castro are humanitarians as was Lincoln. They belong to the ages, and you who defend them are to be admired for the bravery you share with them. Keep telling the truth. It is the only thing that will set us free.

Hollywood, Calif. (Name withheld at editor's discretion)

PHYSICAL THERAPY AND FRAUD

The article, "Physical Therapy and the Fraud It Accommodated", in your November issue brought to mind another case of suppression by AMA with the help of Government agencies. It involved the Hindu scientist Colonel Dinsha Ghadiali who spent 50 years to develop a most effective sunlamp. I know it because I was fortunate to obtain one in 1923. At the time my wife was flat on her back after childbirth and surgeons suggested several operations. The lamp, however, made them unnecessary.

AMA succeeded in getting a permanent injunction against Col. Ghadiali and his institute. The man is now 88 year old. There is still a small organization of faithful followers in existence, hoping that some day the fatal injunction will be revoked.

Col. Ghadiali can tell a sad story of 40 years of harassment and persecution that hardly has an equal in the annals of medical history. Chicago, Ill.

DR. N. S. HANOKA, N.D., D.D.S. (Dr. Hanoka is the author of several books, among them "The Advantages of Healing by Visible Spectrum Therapy", "Teeth and your Food", "Food Does It", "Eat Less and Live Longer".)

1984

I have just finished reading George Orwell's "1984". I really felt that the book was worth reading when I came to the part where Orwell explains how this abominable situation came about—or can come about through the instrument of Emmanuel Goldstein's book. I couldn't help but think of you—you who have lived through a regime similar to the one Orwell describes. I began to wonder what your comments between the sections would be. I wish you would do an article on just this subject: how the government needs wars and the war "climate" to stay in power, and what this can and will eventually lead to.

Oranjestad, Neth. Antilles STEVE FARR. EDITOR'S NOTE: Mr. Farr's suggestion, for which I am sincerely grateful, has already inspired an article on the subject. It will be published in a forthcoming issue of TMO.

THE DECEMBER ISSUE

The December 1960 issue of TMO is so excellent that I have bought seven extra copies at newsstands to give or lend to my friends. Also, to support you and keep the publication going, I am enclosing gift subscriptions for my son and daughter.

Cambridge, Mass. MARY C. EUBANKS

TO CONSIDER ADVERTISING

Enclosed are gift subscriptions and a contribution to your publication fund. May you succeed in contacting enough citizens to prevent our leaders from starting World War III.

I agree with your decision to have a publication free from the dictates of advertisers. In case of a life or death struggle, however, might it not be worthwhile to think about lowering your sights? If suitable advertisers can be found for a few months, why not use their help to put the magazine over the hump? Isn't half a loaf better than no bread at all?

Tulsa, Okla. OTTO L. HEMPHILL

EDITOR'S NOTE: No, half a loaf is not necessarily better—not if it is poisoned. A principle can be effective only in rejecting the FIRST compromise. Thereafter, it can hardly be recovered; once you have compromised, you MUST inadvertently attempt to be an effective compromiser. We will hold out for the whole loaf . . . and with your assistance we will succeed.

NOT BIG ENOUGH . . .

I am sorry to see that the U. S. isn't big enough to make an enterprise like The Minority of One a self-paying concern.

Somerville, N. J. ELMER HANSEN

TEXACO'S CHARITY

Over the news wires we learned the wonderful news about the generous donation of \$100,000 by the Texas Oil Co. to the Cuban refugees, for which action the company deserves to be commended very highly.

Considering the humanitarian spirit, I would like to suggest that a similar donation be given to the Spanish refugees living in France as a result of the destruction of the Spanish cities and the Spanish Republic, all done with Texaco oil and gasoline, to the tune of \$7,000,000, furnished to Franco, Hitler and Mussolini in the 1930s.

I hope that this generous spirit of Christmas will prevail and set an example to others in helping these unfortunate and forgotten people who were forced into exile.

Manhattan Beach, Calif.

SEBASTIAN ARRIETA

THE JANUARY ISSUE

I am enclosing a contribution towards the next issue of TMO. I consider it a part of my education since I am one of the "average American readers" that you write about. I particularly liked "Fascism Through Evolution." Also "The Anatomy of a Literary Fraud." Just to show what I mean by being an average reader, I will say that when I saw an ad in *The Californian* for the book "A World Without Jews," I was shocked that Burton Wolfe would print that ad. However, I never read Marx. As you wrote in one issue of the magazine, if the policy of lying could be ended in every country and people would only be told the truth, then things would begin to work out.

The Book Notes in the January issue are excellent. In fact, the magazine gets read cover to cover again and again. We surely hope you can continue with it.

Kiel, Wis.

N. KLEMMER

LIST OF SPONSORS

The following individuals are helping to make the publication of *The Minority of One* possible through their monthly contributions: E. A., Phil Arnot, Walter Baran, Fred F. Botts, A Friend, Sidney C. Brown, Dr. R. F. Burlingame, George Burnett, Mrs. Helen R. Bush, Mrs. J. L. Coombes, Eugene H. Copenhaver, Roy E. Coupal, Mrs. A. Henry Cuneo, Dr. Marvin S. Dayan, Henry R. Discant, Lulu W. Draper, Charles H. Evers, Steve Farr, Arthur R. Friedenheilt, Mr. & Mrs. John G. Frost, E. E. Garlits, Donald L. Halter, Louis Halter, Elmer K. Hansen, Otto L. Hemphill, Ray E. Hinkley, John Holovacz, Noel Iverson, Jr., Mrs. Ellnor N. Jones, Miss Lilla Kalman, L. K., Richard Kern, Alfred J. Kurzen, Frank Liberti, John P. Limbach, Bernice C. McCollum, Manuel Machado, S. M., Otto W. Modley, Mrs. Madalyn Murray, Selden Osborne, Mrs. Wayland Phillips, Miss Mary

How We Have Died

Millions of people offered no resistance as they were led to death by the Nazis. Why? What was going on in their hearts and minds? Were they cowards, heroes, martyrs? A survivor answers these questions in the March 1961 issue of *The Minority of One*.

Speaking Engagements

Having been invited to address several university audiences and civic groups, the editor wishes to announce his availability for that purpose, contingent upon a contribution to the publication fund of *The Minority of One*.

Castro's Speech Available

Copies of Dr. Fidel Castro's speech before the fifteenth U.N. Assembly are now available, in English translation, from *The Minority of One* at 25 cents per copy.

Take It Literally . . .

"If all of us will . . . stand up to be counted in the cause of human dignity, even though personal sacrifice be involved, these goals will one day be attained."

(Author unknown but signed by Dwight D. Eisenhower in a letter to James Gabrielle, whose family attempted to break a white boycott of a desegregated school in New Orleans.)

Phillips, Richard A. and Virginia L. Pott-smith, Miss Alta Powers, Miss Goldie Mae Preston, Irvin Prushan, I. S., Roger Schneier, F. R. Scott, Samuel Sloan, Esq., L. S., Elsie E. Smith, Glenn Steinberg, Carl S. Tobie, Thomas H. Uzzell, Harold Verb, Mrs. Hannah Weiner, Gary Wilfsberg, Roxie Wood and L. W.

Not In Vain . . .

The last (so far) substantial contribution (\$750.00) I have made to the publication fund of *The Minority of One* was in September 1960. Since, my personal income has practically ceased; my savings had been exhausted at a much earlier stage of publication. Yet, TMO continues publication on a pay-as-you-go basis (payment of debts will have to wait for better times). This has been made possible by you: the growing number of subscribers, sponsors and contributors.

We hope that before too long subscription fees alone will suffice to cover the production cost of TMO. To reach that point, which is already discernible in the not too distant future, I must appeal for further assistance. The circulation of TMO is growing so encouragingly, that now I can state that, given readers' financial assistance for an additional length of time, *The Minority of One* will be here to stay. If only you will continue your assistance, it will not be in vain: it will turn TMO into a permanent, self-supporting forum.

Our appeal is concrete: to the newsstand readers—to become subscribers; to the subscribers—to become sponsors and contribute to our publication fund; and to the sponsors—to maintain, or increase, the extent of their monthly assistance and to submit it promptly. I also appeal to subscribers whose renewals become due, to enter them promptly.

Long after the need for your special assistance is over, you will keep receiving our thank you notes—copies of subsequent issues of *The Minority of One*.

—The Editor

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Of What I Am Ashamed:

► OF THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT for:

- its automatic rejection of Soviet suggestions for the reunification of a neutralized Korea from which all foreign forces would be withdrawn;
- rejecting India's proposal that the three-nation International Control Commission for Laos be revived; then, however, consenting to its revival, provided American sponsored Laotian agents would have a virtual veto power over the Commission.
- the military guidance and supplies provided for the Laotian rightist insurgents while accusing the Soviet Union of military support for the Pathet Lao.
- tolerating and encouraging armed training camps, of Cubans and Americans preparing to invade Cuba, on American soil;
- abstaining from voting on a United Nations resolution calling for a U.N. supervised self-determination referendum in Algeria.

► OF THE CONGRESSIONAL LEADERS who are attempting to restore Dwight D. Eisenhower's military status in order to add to his substantial presidential pension that of a retired general.

► OF THE HOUSE INVESTIGATING SUBCOMMITTEE for whitewashing the off-the-record dealings between members of the Federal Power Commission and Thomas G. Corcoran, lawyer and lobbyist for the Midwestern Gas Transmission Company, in connection with a concession on a new gas pipeline in the Midwest.

► OF THE U. S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES for re-establishing its Committee on Un-American Activities.

► OF PRESIDENT JOHN F. KENNEDY and MASSACHUSETTS GOVERNOR FOSTER FURCOLO for appointing Benjamin H. Smith II to fill the President's vacated senatorial seat, the appointee's sole "qualification" being that he is a former classmate of Mr. Kennedy's.

► OF JUDGE ALBERT A. AXELROD of the San Francisco municipal court for hypocritically backing, in a private press interview, J. Edgar Hoover's allegation that the May demonstrations against the House Un-American Activities Committee were instigated by Communist subversives even though the judge himself had dismissed the charges against the arrested demonstrators.

► OF REPRESENTATIVE OVERTON BROOKS, Chairman of the House Space Committee, for urging the new Administration to order the immediate production of the multi-billion-dollar Nike-Zeus missile.

► OF THE AMERICAN LEGION POST 113 of Harmony, N. C. for its barbaric annual Christmas "party" during which its sadistic members hunt down rabbits, beat them to death with clubs, rocks, baseball bats or bare hands, barbecue and sell them, the proceeds going to civic and charitable projects.

► OF THE AFL-CIO for failing to combat racist discrimination in its unions, as revealed in a NAACP report.

► OF THE NEW YORK EMPLOYING PRINTERS ASSOCIATION for bestowing its 1961 Franklin Award for distinguished public service upon Allen W. Dulles, director of the Central Intelligence Agency.

► OF FRANCIS CARDINAL SPELLMAN, the cold warring, war mongering politician who, in addition to contributing \$10,000 for Cuban refugees, expressed a "readiness" to contribute for Dr. Castro's psychiatric treatment . . .

Federal Government not stop being their customer. At no point was this economic school challenged, at no point was a basic change even considered.

For propaganda's sake and for the historical record Mr. Kennedy will sustain the pretense of seeking a diplomatic accommodation with the Soviet Union. This will be nothing but an exercise in diplomatic camouflage. No matter what position the Soviets take in such diplomatic encounters, Mr. Kennedy will not be free to return from them to stop the production of American arms. Not having given thought to possible alternative bases for the American economy, the success of diplomatic conferences would amount to the doom of the American economy. Mr. Kennedy will see to it that this does not happen.

With all this it is quite possible that the Kennedy Administration will develop a case of acute schizophrenia. While internationally pursuing bellicose policies that will provide a justification for the further increase of our military machinery and industry, on sporadic domestic issues of secondary importance it may maintain a relatively liberal course. Quite probably Mr. Kennedy will attempt to bribe history into depicting him as a progressive, liberal President by working for such measures as health insurance for the aged, increase of the minimum wage and the widening of its application, and social legislation of a similar nature.

He will be compelled to promote some such legislation in order, at least partly, to satisfy the so called liberal forces that have aligned themselves behind him. Already the pre-election campaign has provided a dramatization of this political schizophrenia. When such forces as the Progressive Party of the State of New York or the Americans for Democratic Action threw their support to Mr. Kennedy, they gained much less than they compromised. They can correctly claim credit for any ensuing social legislation, which will do no justice to the prevailing needs anyway, but they will achieve this in return for legitimizing cold war policies and cold-war-oriented domestic prosperity as properties of liberal thought. If we ever die by the tens of millions from nuclear bombs, let us not forget, in our last prayers, to praise them for the increased unemployment compensation they will have achieved for us . . . But let us also not forget that these same "liberal" forces diverted and distracted those elements of the nation that might have otherwise awakened to challenge the homicidal and suicidal philosophy of government that prevails in Washington.

* * *

Having made these bleak predictions, we will not consider ourselves committed to an "I-told-you-so" attitude. With hopeful eagerness we will observe the unfolding story of the Kennedy Administration for signs that will refute our pessimism. We will be much happier celebrating an unanticipated course of events than our own clairvoyance.

Dec. 17, 1960.

The New Administration *(Continued from page 11)*

in armaments, the theory will be advanced that military spending must pursue the double objective of achieving an atomic strategic deterrent against "aggression" and simultaneously maintaining armed forces for local, limited wars. Volumes could be written about the military inconsistencies between arguments employed in the past to advance the strategic deterrent theory and those now promoted for simultaneous emphasis upon conventional forces. These contradictions, however, are purely military; as far as the economic consequences of both theories are concerned, there is a perfect consistency in the belief the only justified Federal subsidy to industry and public services is that which

benefits the arms producers.

Undoubtedly, the Kennedy Administration will embrace the double theory that calls for the "strategic deterrent" on the one hand and conventional arming on the other. When tens of billions of dollars are spent unproductively on that policy and recessions still occur, our generals and economists may finally attempt to "save" the economy by peddling a tank, or at least a machine gun, to every American home.

In all these respects the new Administration brings no surprises with it. Its tendencies and basic policies were predetermined by the influence of lobbies powerful enough to insist successfully that the